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Election Post-Mortem

HENRY LEE MOON

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Yonder Sits The Rocking-Chair

J. AUSTIN BURKHART

A New Yorker Looks At Norway

WILLIAM WORTHY, JR.

The Importance Of Georgia Douglass Johnson

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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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■ An analysis of the election returns and the role of the Negro voter

Election Post-Mortem

By Henry Lee Moon

THE extent of General Dwight D. Eisenhower's victory on November 4 upset many predictions and pre-election analyses. The professional pollsters, mindful of 1948, were understandably wary and indicated that victory, whichever way it went, would be by a narrow margin. Political observers were prone to venture predictions based more on their hopes than on any foreknowledge. As always, the politicians claimed victory for their respective parties. No one, not even the Republican politicians, seemed to anticipate the proportion of the Eisenhower triumph.

Amid all the forecasts which lay in a crumbled heap on the morning of November 5, two predictions stood up. One was that the election would bring out the largest number of voters in the history of the country. Nearly 62,000,000 citizens participated in the election as compared with the peak of nearly 50,000,000 in 1940. The other was the widely agreed upon forecast that the Negro vote would go heavily for the Democratic candidate, Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois.

A survey of the vote in predominantly Negro districts of 46 cities in 21 states reveals that these voters cast their ballots about three to one for the Democratic candidate. In only one community included in the survey did General Eisenhower receive a bare majority — 51 per cent in Marshall, Texas. Two precincts in Chattanooga, Tennessee, about 50 per cent Negro, gave the Republican candidate 49 per cent of the vote. Elsewhere, Governor Stevenson's majorities in predominantly Negro districts ranged from 56 per cent in two Jersey City wards to 99 per cent in 1 ward in Darlington, S. C.

The survey indicates that the Negro vote was an important factor in holding Louisiana and South Carolina in the Democratic column. Elsewhere, it apears from the survey, the Negro vote was not a decisive factor.

Save among Negro voters, and to a certain extent among the Dixiecrats, civil rights does not appear to have been an important factor. And with these two groups, as with others,

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economic considerations were also important. The general economic well-being among Negroes, as indicated by the rise and expansion of an upper middle class in the major cities, coupled with a fear of a return to depression days, were doubtlessly motivating factors with this segment of the population. On the other hand, the Dixiecrats, particularly in Texas and Louisiana, were vitally concerned with the tidelands oil issue and with the securing of other economic privileges.

PATTERN REPEATED

In voting heavily for the Democratic candidate, while most of the nation's voters shifted to the Republicans, Negro voters repeated the pattern of 1932 when, in the main, they remained Republican in the face of an overwhelming national endorsement of the Democratic candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The trend of Negro voters away from their original Republican moorings did not really get under way until 1936. In 1952, as twenty years earlier, Negro voters did not follow the national trend.

Many explanations have been advanced as to why the country went Republican after twenty years of Democratic administrations. There is probably no single answer. Certainly, General Eisenhower's personal popularity was an important factor, as were the Korean War and the charges of communist infiltration in government. High taxes, high prices and a desire for a change were also considerations influencing the vote. The majority of Negro voters apparently were not swayed by these factors. There are, in isolated instances, indications that the size of the Stevenson majorities in Negro districts was reduced because of some of these considerations and also because of the negative civil rights record of Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee.

The results of the election clearly demonstrate the importance of intensifying the drive to expand the southern Negro vote. If this vote can be enlarged to approximate even 50 per cent of its potential, it will play an increasingly vital role in southern politics. The inevitable consequences of such a development would be a steady decline in "white supremacy" demagoguery in that region.

NEGRO ISSUES

Among the many issues up for referendum in the respective states, three were of direct concern to Negro citizens. In South Carolina, Governor James F. Byrnes, although defeated in his effort to carry the state for General Eisenhower, succeeded in having his jim-crow amendment to the state constitution ratified. This amendment empowers the legislature to abolish the public school system in the event of a United States Supreme Court decision banning segregation in elementary and secondary public schools. Mississippi voters rejected a proposal to make registration of new voters more difficult by requiring all future applicants to be able to interpret the Constitution. Governor Herman Talmadge's proposal to enlarge the discriminatory county unit system in Georgia was turned back by the voters.

CRANIAL MODEL—*Dr. F. M. Gregg, former Nebraska Wesleyan University professor of psychology and lecturer of wide repute, explains a complex electrified cranial model used for lectures to Dr. Charles H. Wesley (right), president of Central State College, Ohio. Dr. Gregg told Central State students that the secret of emotional control is to keep your mind on the more agreeable aspects of life.* BOTTOM: *Rev. Donald Harrington (center), pastor of the Community Church, New York City, and Dr. Charles H. Wesley (extreme right), were key speakers for the annual all-Ohio International Relations Club conference held at Central State.*

■ Much is said about the Negro's right to work, but little about his opportunities to play and relax

Yonder Sits the Rocking-Chair

By J. Austin Burkhart

UNTIL recently the large majority of recreational programs in Northern cities, tempting Negroes with the equal use of some park facilities, refused to permit them to enter "white" public swimming pools. The situation was not unlike that described in the old refrain:

May I go swimming, Mother?
Yes, my darling daughter.
Hang your clothes on a hickory tree
But don't go near the water.

Many Southern cities, on the other hand, operated upon the supposition that Negroes do not swim and made no provision for this phase of recreation. Those which did not recognize the problem provided not only separate pools, but separate parks. In addition both northern and southern practice pointed to the Negro and stated, in effect, "Yonder sits the rocking-chair."

For years the swimming pools of the National Capitol Parks in Washington were operated on a segregated basis. Although built on federal land with federal funds, these pools were not open to intergroup swimming. Early in 1949, Negro citizens began translating the President's Civil Rights Program into action by using the pools. During the first days of integrated swimming, conflict occurred. The Department of the Interior closed Anacostia Pool for the season, but remained steadfast in its determination not to reinstitute segregation. Almost at the same time, the City of St. Louis opened its public pools to all citizens. Psychotic individuals aroused by a conflict situation fanned the flames of tension, and newspapers in New York, Boston, and Chicago carried the story. Events since 1949, in both Washington and St. Louis, are fully as dramatic as the disturbances were sensational. They have not received the equivalent number of column inches of newsprint, but they are far more important.

During the first complete season, 1950, in which the six pools in

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Washington were operated on a non-segregation basis, 235,533 persons patronized the pools.[1] No disturbances or unfortunate incidents of any kind occurred. The only detracting factor was a decline of approximately 28 per cent in attendance. Since the summer of 1950 was somewhat below the average temperature, and considering that precipitation fell on 40 days during the peak of the season, the figure was relatively good. The following year the weather was again unusually mild, but attendance rose to 297,-649.[2] So far the trend of increased participation continues and goes for to document the belief that nonsegregated swimming can succeed if the approach is intelligent and persistent.[3]

COMPLEX HISTORY

In St. Louis the history of interracial swimming in public schools is much more complex. After the untoward events at the Fairgrounds Swimimng Pool in 1949, all public pools were closed for the summer. When the pools were reopened in 1950, the city revived its policy of segregation. This resulted in the white patrons having the use of the two large municipal swimming pools while the city's 125,000 Negroes had none. Under the leverage of a court order, authorities opened the pools to all citizens. In abolishing racial segregation, however, city officials reinforced the Freudian interpretation of the race question by instituting sex segregation in its place. The pools were operated for men and boys on one day and girls and women on alternate days. Slight disturbances but no violence occurred during the first two days under the new policy. From the third day onward a Peace Disturbance Ordinance was strictly enforced and there were no further incidents. Swimmer participation, though, dropped off noticeably. Part of this was caused by separating the sexes since swimming, like dancing, is enjoyed for social values as well as physical recreation. Attendance during 1951 improved slightly, and the increase continued throughout the present season.[4] More important, no adverse incidents have occurred during the past two years.

Not all cities have faced up to the issue squarely. Webster Groves, a residential Suburb of St. Louis, closed its swimming pool, assuming that Negro patronage would reduce attendance and the project would drain existing revenue. Last summer an independent citizens committee raised more than $6,000 in cash for the operation of the pool on an unrestricted basis, yet the city council refused to change its decision.[5] Across the state in Kansas City, authorities resorted to the shutdown approach when a federal district Court ruled that Negroes had the right of admission to the municipal pool in scenic Swope Park. The court noted that discrimination was based upon unwritten park policy and had no legal foundation. Officials thereupon closed the Swope Pool, filed an appeal with the United States Circuit Court, and announced that they would fight the case all the way to the Supreme Court.[6] In the meantime, Kansas City's finest municipal pool stayed closed and

Kansascitians, sweltering through the hottest midwestern summer in years, may have well-wondered whether segregation was worth the cost.

INTEGRATED SWIMMING

Obviously, there are many features in the complex picture of race relations more significant than the relatively unimportant matter of integrated swimming. The problem, nevertheless, is a dramatic one and one which tends to symbolize the imbalance in public recreation. Much has been written about the Negro's right to work; little has been said about his opportunities to play and relax. In many respects this is a neglected area in our expanding democracy. Not only does the Negro have to face restricted swimming facilities, but his share of public parks, municipal tennis courts and golf links, and other tax-supported recreational units is often a small one.

By way of illustration, in South Carolina every white citizen has a state park within 40 miles of home, but the five Negro state parks hardly provide a similar convenience.[7] As recently as 1951, Kentucky had twenty-two parks for white patrons and none for Negroes. One Negro park, however, was under construction.[8] Up until last year the 44 state parks of Texas, comprising 750,000 acres of scenic beauty, could be enjoyed only by the white population.[9] Louisiana has twelve state parks for whites but Negroes are forced to eat their picnic lunches at the side of the road.[10] While state parks of Missouri are open to all people, the use of grounds by youth groups for integrated camping or mixed conferences is taboo. Negro Girl Scouts may use the parks for troop camping, but mixed Girl Scout groups are not welcome.[11] Negroes may walk the hills in the rugged Ozark State Park, but Negro swimmers are not admitted on the beach at Lake of the Ozark State Park. In Florida, Negro visitors frequent the Florida Caverns State Park; yet custom dictates that they do not play golf on the golf course; they commonly go fishing at the Myakka River State Park, near Sarasota, but the heavy hand of social pressure steers them away from other park facilities.[12] One of the two Negro state parks in Tennessee consists of 350 acres while the other contains 1,000 acres. The difference in the offerings for each group is apparent when these two parks are compared with the thirteen all-white parks, one of which comprises 42,000 acres.[13]

RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Municipalities do little better than the states in providing recreational opportunities for all citizens. The white parks and playgrounds of Atlanta, Georgia, in 1951, offered 163 activity programs. The Negro areas had to be content with sixteen. In the previous year 40,000 more Negroes than whites participated in the city's playground activities.[14] Needless to say, golf and tennis facilities are out of line. Six Southern cities—Columbia, South Carolina; Shreveport, Louisiana; Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Jackson, Mississippi; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Atlanta, Georgia—have a total of

205 municipally owned tennis courts for whites. This is offset by twenty courts for Negro patrons.[15] Jackson, Baton Rouge, and Columbia stand fast against intermingling on the tennis courts by not providing any facilities for Negroes.[16] Houston, has twelve lighted tennis courts for whites but the number for Negroes is not mentioned.[17] At least six southern cities provide golf links for whites only. In 1951, Atlanta, the home of Bobby Jones, had five golf courses for whites—none for Negroes.[18] Miami permits Negroes to have access to a city-supervised course one day a week.[19] Dallas has four municipal golf courses, one of which is a nine-hole course "Specifically constructed for Negroes." On one of the three all-white, eighteen hole courses, the city sponsors a special tournament on June 19, with entries restricted to Negro players.[20]

There is still another area of recreation where the principle of separate but equal concept fulfills at least fifty percent of its promise—that of separation. Throughout the South public libraries have acquired something of the character of quasi-private institutions. Every urban

PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN THE SOUTH

City	*Policy Toward Negroes*	*Basis for Policy*	*Alternate Provisions*
Memphis	Not admitted as patrons.	Custom: "this is the South."	A main library for Negroes and one to be built.
Dallas	"If they are unable to find material at the Negro branch we allow them to use ours here in the building at tables behind the scenes."	Custom.	A nice Negro Library with Negro Librarian; Book Mobile two days per week.
Charlotte, N. C.	Not admitted.	Act of Legislature 1903 and 1930.	A Library and Book Mobile. All materials of the system are available to Negroes, but Negroes secure materials from this Library.
Atlanta, Ga.	Not admitted.	State Segregation Law.	Three branch libraries.
Jackson, Miss.	Not admitted.	Custom; perhaps city ordinance.	Two branch libraries.

area which aspires to the status of a city has a down-town library. Usually the site is marked by attractive grounds and a spacious building which houses some 100,000 to 300,000 books. It is also off-limits for Negroes. In a recent shelf count the Atlanta Public Library had 348,958 volumes, but the three branch libraries reserved for Negroes had a total of only 20,672 books.[21] One of Houston's eight branch libraries, the Colored Carnegie, has 12,581 volumes. The Houston Public Library for white patrons has a book count of 319,697.[22]

EQUAL FACILITIES

Considering these one-sided statistics, what becomes of the doctrine of equal facilities? The answer lies in the saving grace of bookmobiles, library deposit stations, and branch libraries. Since the Negro has the privilege of asking for any book which is not on the shelves of the bookmobile or the branch library, it is assumed that he has access to all volumes in the main library. How this policy works in respect to reading in the periodical room or using the large assortment of daily papers to which every large library subscribes is obscure. It is a little difficult to browse by telephone. Furthermore, segregation of library facilities runs into trouble when branch stations attempt to duplicate the comprehensive activities which an effective library now regards as important as checking out loan books. The modern library is a center for art displays, musical concerts, lectures, motion pictures, great-books, discussions, story hours for children, and record playing. Unless all of these activities are unimportant and hence do not violate the provision of substantial equality, the entire set-up is in need of revision.

Despite the discouraging aspects of public recreational programs, there are many hopeful signs. New Orleans opened its main library to adult Negroes in 1950. Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1951, lifted the bars to Negroes over 16 and to students beginning with the seventh grade. The public library in Austin, Texas, followed suit this year.[23] The St. Louis public library prides itself on the fact that since it was first established there have never been any racial restrictions on library usage.[24] In Dallas, Texas, all museum facilities are available to the public.[25] In 1950, a federal district judge ruled that the failure of the city of Houston to provide golf courses in parks used by Negroes did not as a matter of law or fact constitute discrimination. At the time there were three parks designated for white persons which had golfing facilities. A few months later, this decision was reversed by the circuit court of appeals in New Orleans. As the result of a court judgment Louisville, Kentucky, early this year, opened its city-owned golf courses to Negroes for the first time in history.

On the state level, the need for providing for the recreational needs of all citizens is recognized increasingly. Intergrated programs are being considered and effectuated in areas where a few years ago the very suggestion would have provided ammunition for rabble-rousing political campaigns. In Oklahoma's state

parks, for example, segregation is the rule, yet in fishing, camping, and picnic areas the joint use of facilities by both whites and Negroes is gradually being accepted.[28] Many southern universities are following the policy adopted at the University of Missouri and Louisiana State University in providing recreational facilities without reservations or restrictions.[29]

NATIONAL PARKS

On the federal front, the National Parks do not allow discrimination, regardless of location.[30] Both the Air Force and the Army are rapidly ending segregated recreational facilities. The Air Forces constructs all recreational facilities on the basis of troop strength and sanctions no discrimination in their use. To date, there have been no reports of violation of this principle in respect to the use of swimming pools or other recreational resources. The Army's policy is firm in reference to recreational activities located in public buildings, such as theaters, gymnasiums, and library buildings. These accommodations are available to all. While no separate policy has been issued in regard to swimming pools, the control of schedules is in the hands of the local commander, and subject to the limitation that any policy must provide for the greatest use of existing facilities.[31] In all of these cases, breaking through the cap rock of segregation has not caused the skies to fall.

The necessity for providing adequate public recreational activities is made partciularly compelling in certain states by the limitations which are imposed by privately owned facilities. Signs reading, "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone—the management," are as common as jukeboxes in Missouri cafes. The dissuasion is not aimed at roustabouts and alcoholics but is simply a "No trespassing" sign for Negroes. Following the same policy, theaters, dance halls, and bowling alleys make the circle of exclusion complete. As a consequence, the Negro must turn to the beer parlor across the tracks or to the inevitable rocking-chair for his relaxation.

Today, the right to play is as important as the right to work. Even if one can ignore the loss in human personality in the rocking-chair approach, there is always the ever-present legal obligation of making public recreational facilities fulfill their intended function. Tax-supported activities must be available without restriction to all citizens. In the words of Federal Judge Rubey Hulen, "When (cities provide . . . recreational facilities out of public funds their use must be on the basis of racial equality."[32]

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DID YOU KNOW —

That Anselmo Suárez y Romero's (1818-1878) antislavery novel *Francisco: Sugar Plantation or Pleasures of the Country* (1880) is often called the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) of Cuba?

Chronologically, however, *Francisco* antedates Miss Stowe's masterpiece by fourteen years. Written in 1838, the book circulated in manuscript, because of the Spanish censorship, until its first printing in New York City in 1880.

Francisco deals with the horrors of slavery and the unfortunate loves of the two young slaves Francisco and Dorotea. Dorotea has the added misfortune of being loved by her mistress's son, Ricardo.

Davy Photo

WE WIVES CLUB—*The We Wives Club of Little Rock, Arkansas, acted as hostesses for the statewide mass meeting held in Little Rock, Arkansas, on November 16 by the Arkansas State NAACP conference. Members of the club (seated), from left, are Mrs. Juanita Walls, Mrs. Estelle Rutledge, and Mrs. Leontine Cullins; second row, Mrs. Freddie Moore, Mrs. Tyrleese Freeman, Mrs. Pearline Johnson, and Mrs. Mildred Terry; back row, Mrs. Georgia Herndon, Mrs. Lou Alice Warren, Mrs. Virginia Fowler, and Mrs. Ida Morton. Mrs. L. C. Bates is president of the NAACP state conference, and conference speaker was Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator.*

■ **This Negro American's reaction to Norway was written originally for a large Oslo daily**

A New Yorker Looks at Norway

By William Worthy, Jr.

BEFORE we sailed to Oslo, I had read all of the travel folders on Norway. Excellent photographs of the fjords. Invitations to go see Lapland and quaint costumes. But nothing about the effect that a trip to Norway would have—should have—on my thinking, my attitudes, my understanding of our complex world.

By the end of the 1951 University of Oslo summer school, I was beginning to doubt that the only events of importance in today's world take place in Washington and Moscow. And now after more than a year at a Danish folkschool I am thoroughly convinced (to paraphrase Shakespeare) that "there is more in this world of ours, Horatio, than we readers of the *New York Times* ever dream of." From Bergen's harbor I should like to shout westward across the Atlantic that the quiet populations of small lands *do* have a role to play, a contribution to make in the scheme of world affairs.

Seven months before we landed in Oslo Americans had been buying refrigerators, television sets, everything, with a mad, desperate fever. General MacArthur, you will recall, had just returned somewhat hastily from the Yalu River, and the advice to consumers was: buy now while there's something to buy. People were saying that Christmas, 1950, "might be our last." Doomsday seemed close at hand, but gadgets and cars, we apparently thought, would make life tolerable until that final moment. Therefore, it was a genuine surprise for me to find that Norwegians had not reacted as we in America had reacted to events in Korea. There was no panic here, no mad rush to the shops—even though, if the war had spread, an attack on Norway or a Russian invasion would be more likely, more prompt and more devastating than an attack on America.

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What's more, here in Norway I have never seen a television set; most Norwegians do not own "taste-destroying" refrigerators; many homes lack hot water; yet they show no signs of being less happy than we mechanized New Yorkers. Their food has fewer illogical (and expensive) associations with pretty girls in technicolor advertisements. Your bread is more nutritious, less commercialized, and cheaper in price. (I shall tell you later an anecdote about black bread and our neighbors the Danes.) So in the past year I have yearned to be able to revolutionize those tourist folders. I wish that the American tourist would arrive here with a different set of premises, with his eyes prepared to see more than fjords and mountains and national costumes. Come to Norway, I would say, and see yourself as others see you. Stay away from the tourist "haunts" during part of your visit, and meet the people in their homes. Eat their black bread and their rationed sweets; share their thoughts; probe their aspirations; learn their hopes and fears about America.

WAR SCARS

Yes, with rationing in Norway as a persisting reminder of the last war, and with daily East-West news as an omen of another war to come, I nevertheless found the Norwegians calmly going about their daily tasks, discussing the development of sociology in their land, thinking in terms of long-range social planning, marrying and bringing up children on this swaying, exposed continent. It was impressive; their social achievements were humbling.

But I also felt disappointed. Norway was occupied for five long years; the people therefore know fascism at first hand. Norway is Socialist; and Socialists the world over know that Franco's rebellion in 1936 became the prelude to World War II. After having helped the Republican government of Spain, the people of Norway, I had learned in America, were still, today, giving generous support to Spanish refugees in a hospital in France. So coming to Oslo three months after the spectacular general strike in Barcelona, I fully expected to find the people dancing in the streets to celebrate the serious cracks and cleavage in Franco's dictatorship. I was sure that the people and their Socialist government would be doing everything in their power to widen those cracks and to hasten the demise of Franco, his torture chambers, and his busy busy executioners. I expected more of Norway than I expected of my own America, because a noisy and powerful bloc in our Congress regards Franco not as a fascist hangman but as *the* original anti-Communist and, therefore, our most dependable ally.

But I was wrong. General, ineffective anti-Franco talk? Yes. But talk, we say in America, is cheap. Specific *action*, demonstrations in front of the Spanish Embassy in Oslo, economic boycotts (as the brave Spanish Underground has requested to their friends everywhere)? No. Not at all. The democrats in Spain who have risked so much for all of us must feel universally deserted, especially by Socialist Norway.

I could also express disappointment at Norway's negative reaction

to Tunisia's complaint against French rule. [*Reference to UN handling of Tunisian question on April* 14, 1952. *Ed.*] I expected something better. A decade ago, the officers of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York selected Dr. Gunnar Myrdal to study exhaustively the American race problem. They chose a Scandinavian scholar, they announced, because none of the Scandinavian countries had ever had an oppressed colored minority, none exploited a darker race in colonies, and none promulgated a doctrine of "white supremacy." Therefore, colored peoples in America and elsewhere trust Scandinavians, and Dr. Myrdal's appointment was acceptable. But will this trust continue to exist if, with the sophistry of which statesmen of *all* nations are capable, Norway begins to plunk one foot in the discredited camp of empire?

NEHRU ACCUSATIONS

In the name of "Western unity" and "anti-communism," is Norway initiating a long series of cumulative blunders which Russia can exploit among colonials? In an effort to be "loyal" to winks and cues from Washington, will the Norwegian government prove the recent accusation by Nehru that the North Atlantic Alliance has degenerated into an agency to deny freedom to the colonies owned by Western Europe? Even men in our own State Department argue that America blundered by abandoning our traditional stand against colonialism and yielding to French pressure on the issue of Tunisia.

Ironical, and also strange. Strange, because you are not plagued with a "Norwegian Senator McCarthy." And I doubt that you ever will be. Free speech and free thought are so well protected here in Norway that people *can* speak out against Franco; a man *can* denounce French imperialism, and no demogogic lawmaker rises in the Storting to yell "Communist." But my impression is that Norwegians are less concerned about international events than are the Danes. Perhaps "concerned" is the wrong word. Norwegians apparently feel helpless, incapable of taking meaningful action. We Americans have our eyes riveted on the Kremlin; and little else (nobody else) seems to matter to us. We are obsessed and preoccupied — negatively, fearfully, neurotically.

So from us you take your cue; with a sigh you settle back and resign yourselves to *our* dogma that *you* really don't matter, that you are powerless. Your dreams, your hopes, your problems, your great cultural contributions — nothing. The latest item of Russian propaganda—everything. Three million sane Norwegians living as free men—irrelevant. A dozen fanatical slave-drivers, experimenting in the Kremlin with "controlled insanity" — paramount. What an underestimation by us of the power of moral forces in the universe, what a distorted evaluation of the strength of creators vs. termites, what a tragic misreading of regenerative vs. destructive elements in mankind's affairs! How we confuse the silent, united depths of the ocean with the transient froth and disunited waves wildly blowing upon the surface! And the tragedy, as

George Orwell reminds us in "1984," is that the "controlled insanity" of "infinite Father Stalin" is in desperation being copied by our own "infallible" rulers because the Western peoples have failed to borrow and adapt the patterns of equality and the techniques of *economic* democracy from the Scandinavians, who have so notably elevated human dignity and so successfully leveled the arrogance and privileges of wealth.

NORWAY IMPORTANT

Norway *does* matter; and Walter Lippmann, Helen Lynd and other sober Americans warn us day after day that we shall forfeit our allies if we ignore, subordinate, and refuse to learn from them. "Only equals can be trusted," says Lippmann; but nobody in *Washington* seems to hear him above the raucous shouts of the Wisconsin (McCarthy)-Nevada (McCarran) "Axis." Even Queen Wilhemina of Holland, when she addressed Congress, politely told our headline-obsessed lawmakers that it *is* news—important news—when the Dutch people work patiently for 50 years to push the ocean back a mile or two and thereby increase their home-grown food supply in a food-short world—in a world where "one billion hungry men are shopping for a revolution."

And like the sturdy queen, your good friends the Danes are waking up and "talking back" to us Americans — humorously but effectively. Between last August and today I have noticed a change in the climate of Danish public opinion. Take that incident of the black bread. Last Autumn, a giant corporation in America spent tens of thousands of dollars to buy space in major magazines for a single big advertisement. To them it was a chef-d'oeuvre. The company was not trying to sell anything directly; we call it "institutional advertising," glorifying *"our* way of life." Seated around the dinner table in a middle-class home was cleanly shaven Father, nicely dressed Mother, and "two lovely children." Says Father, shocked and unbelieving: "What! Only black bread?" And then with a sigh of relief he finds why his wife has placed only black bread, and nothing else, on the table: she wants him to reappraise and appreciate anew the unmatched blessings of *"American* free enterprise." Black bread, he remarks gratefully, is only for "peasants" behind the Iron Curtain.

DANISH HUMOR

Shortly after the advertisement was published, the advertising chief of this company made a business trip to Denmark. He was invited to dinner by a wealthy Danish business associate. By deliberate design, Danish black bread (and no other bread) was served at the meal. So incredulous and confused was the American that on the following day he secretly inquired at Copenhagen banks to make sure that he was dealing with a financially sound Dane!

A small rebuke, 'tis true. A gentle, humorous and typically Danish protest. But nevertheless a protest. By laughing at our foibles and our provincialism, the Danes are helping to "clear the air." They are deflating the self-centred dollar sign and our

ostentatious dollar-aid. In our secret "heart of hearts" we Americans respect and admire men of strong convictions, people who differ with us and "speak their mind," persons whose spines are erect and who bow to no man, friends who tell us that there is a foolish corner in *our* hearts, too.

The pressure of Russian tyranny *seems* to require a synthetic "unity," and the lure of expediency leads Washington to concoct a veneer of "unanimity" over a substratum of sincerely held differences. But fortunately not all Americans live and work in Washington. In their homes and workshops, on the farms from Maine to California, they are as perturbed as Norwegians are about what the future holds. They know that not all goes well with our allies abroad. They have read about the impact of hasty rearmament and the spectre of unemployment from Narvik to Manchester to Rome. They know that the Communists and neo-fascists are gaining strength in Italy, and that everything which we rush to do in the field of foreign policy seems to go wrong. To quote *Time* magazine after the Lisbon conference, America in its foreign relations is "making giant strides northward on a train going south."

I am convinced that at least some of my countrymen are ready to listen to constructive criticism of our policies and of our unilateral premises about what is good for Europe. Surely, the calm and balanced people of Norway (ancient mariners, wise in knowledge of world affairs, profoundly conscious of eternal verities, devoid of jingoism and dangerous nationalism) can find ways and routes to by-pass an impetuous and over-heated Washington and to speak to the *people* of America.

DID YOU KNOW —

That in Voltaire's "The White and the Black" "Ebony was a very handsome Negro"?

★ ★ ★

That ancient Egyptian kings used to import pygmies from Central Africa?

Wolfgang Born describes this trade in "Monsters in Art" in the *Ciba Symposia*, August-September, 1947, Vol. 9, p. 685.

★ ★ ★

That the Peruvian Indians, according to Alexander Humboldt, claimed specific odors for Indians, Africans, and European?

Layne's Stud

NAACP LIFE MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATE *for the Ancient Order of the Mystic Shrine is admired by Dr. Raymond Jackson (left), Imperial Potentate, after presentation of a check for $500 to Walter White (right), executive secretary of the NAACP. Looking on is Robert L. Carter, NAACP assistant special counsel. The Shriners' name will be placed on the bronze life membership plaque in the national office of the NAACP.*

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

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■ **Study of a poet who believes in justice and the coming brotherhood of man**

The Importance of Georgia Douglass Johnson

By Cedric Dover

IT is said, with just enough exaggeration to point the truth, that Negroes are behind everything creative in the United States. They have not only made the outstanding folk culture of colonised America, but have a remarkable gift for absorbing and transforming which goes beyond imitation to the making of novelties that are more than merely clever. This characteristic gave life to the artistic upsurge known as the New Negro Movement. Its vitality, expertly distilled by Alain Locke, James Weldon Johnson, Charles S. Johnson and others, is as urban as the blues and as notable as any achievement during the effulgence of the 'twenties.

Georgia Douglass Johnson's poems were published in the anthologies of this Renaissance, her books appeared in the decade that marked its beginning and end, and her home has always been a center for the writers and artists who gave it color and shape. She is definitely of it; but equally definitely not in it. Her first volume, *The Heart of a Woman* (1918), echoes Sara Teasdale and shows real sensibility, but contains no hint of the ferment which, a little later, inspired Claude McKay's moving sonnets of protest, his evocative explorations of the Harlem scene, and his exquisite lyrics of nostalgia.

Mr. McKay also heralded the paganism which was to grow into the glorification of the Golden Brown and the portrayal of the sordid realities of city life. These extensions of poetic vision required freedom from the restraints of conventional poetising, and found it in the work of Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay and other figures of the American poetry revival. There was no lack

CEDRIC DOVER, *literary critic and author of Singing Brown: Poetry and Life in Negro America and the widely praised, abused and quoted Half-Caste and other books, now lives in London, England.*

GEORGIA DOUGLASS JOHNSON (1886-), *who lives in Washington, D C., was born in Atlanta, Georgia, and educated at Atlanta University and at Oberlin College, Ohio.*

of new forms for expressing new values.

Mrs. Johnson's second book, *Bronze* (1922), reflects these departures from the poesy of the comfortable villa in the manner indicated by its title. The subject is still the heart of a woman, but now it is the heart of a colored woman aware of her social problem and the potentiality of the so-called hybrid. Therefore, it is unfortunate that *An Autumn Love Cycle* (1928) failed to concentrate her awareness. Instead of enlarging the new vitality, it reverts to the personal notes of her first poems, though it adds the aching maturity of a sensitive woman in her forties. The poet is again overwhelmed by herself.

DEPRESSION SWEEP

Soon after the *Cycle*, the Depression swept away the Golden Brown and everything else that was supposedly golden in the days of mad prosperity. It should, by all analogies, have swept Mrs. Johnson away too, but she survived by turning her attention to other forms of writing. They did not get published, but they kept the flame alive.

The War might easily have extinguished it, but Mrs. Johnson responded with revived vigor to the changing scene. She added her voice to the Negro struggle for a full share in the democracy that demanded Negro lives and labor. She gave herself unstintingly and, at the same time, poured out a stream of effective poems and fighting songs. Today she is a poet born again of suffering and the social Holy Ghost.

It is an exceptional record. All the more exceptional when we view the sad procession of middle-class poets silenced by inability to find some dynamic in a transitional society. Mrs. Johnson has been saved from this fate, I think, by the circumstance of being a Negro. It has prevented class limitations from enclosing, and finally stifling, her. It has roused her passionate belief in ultimate justice and the coming brotherhood of man. It has given her that extra something apparent in her great sincerity and appealing simplicity.

These are qualities that assure admiration, even from those who have gone beyond idealisation to the real means, the critical disciplines and endeavors, by which ideals are realized. They would be quite striking in an adequate and long overdue sifting of her collected poems. Such a bouquet would certainly have the fragrance of a rich and mellow personality, near enough to less generously endowed folk to be typical of cultivated thought in a large part of the colored world.

Indeed, her affinities are as integral to the interest of her poems as the quietly sharp differences. We expect chords of conventional familiarity amongst the offerings of her womanly heart—and we find them in abundance, as in these lines:

> I want to die while you love me,
> While yet you hold me fair;
> While laughter lies upon my lips
> And lights are in my hair.

FRANK HEDONISM

But there is another note too in her feminine poems, a strong note of frank hedonism that is almost unique amongst the woman poets of her generation. She sings the pleas-

ures of loving today, sorrowing tomorrow, and loving again the day after more frequently than she chants the hymnals of unalterable devotion:

Cure one love with another
To cauterise the pain;
And when the old love surges,
Escape through love again.
To die is to remember,
To live is to forget
So cool the old love embers
With new love—and forget.

This hedonism, this knowledge of having lived and loved, brightens the usual regrets of the passing years. They do not fuse, as they so often do in the poems of elderly women, into poems of uniform greyness, but suggest a personal adjustment based on the continued joy of living the great adventure. For her yesterday is a nightgone thing, tomorrow a rich potential:

All things pass,
Nothing abides
Forever.
The sorrow and distress today
Shall disappear and pass away.
Nothing—not even happiness—
Is constant,
Nor kiss nor sigh nor fond caress
Shall know tomorrow's loveliness.

But, hedonism notwithstanding, such verses represent little more than the chief preoccupations of ordinary feminine poesy. Fortunately, Mrs. Johnson often escapes from their fatal attractions into additional areas of awareness created by identification with colored life. She has faced and resolved the psychological and social complications of being a near-white, while retaining enough traces of "tragic mulatto" feeling to stress the merit of her conquest. She has felt this situation so intimately, and approached it with such persistence and intuitive understanding, that she is the first and still the most prolific poet of the "half-caste." Her only rivals in this respect are Langston Hughes and the Eurasian George Walker, both of whom have had the advantage of an intellectual climate influenced by herself.

The extent of her influence, of her philosophy of dawn-men born of the fused strength of tributary sources, deserves to be properly recognized. She was the first to give to peoples of mixed origin the pride in themselves that they so badly needed. She was the mother who nourished a whole generation of Eurasians and other "mixed breeds" like myself. We found in her the blood and bone we needed to fight the evangelists of colored inferiority and their converts within our own groups, as Kenneth Wallace acknowledged in *The Eurasian Problem* (1930). He quoted as his theme part of one of her best known poems:

Not wholly this nor that,
But wrought
Of alien bloods am I,
A product of the interplay
Of travelled hearts . . .
Scion of fused strength am I,
All understanding,
Nor this, nor that,
Contains me.

RALLYING CALL

This was the rallying call to which my world responded, but it was a theme with many tunes. She made us feel that we were not only scions of fused strength, but ultimate men:

I am the ultimate man—
Uniting into one

The many variants of earth
Strayed since the world began.

We were, in fact, the portents of a new humanity in which all essences were irresistibly blended:

No puny measure times the beat
Of my precursal charging feet.
All essences resolve in me
Like rivers rushing to the sea.

But she also gave us the uncomfortable feeling that portents are not established without effort. We winced a little when she asked where the strong men were who would shape and build this effort:

Where are the brave men?
Where are the strong men?
Pygmies rise
And spawn the earth:
Weak-kneed, weak-hearted and afraid,
Afraid to face the counsel of their hearts,
Afraid to look men squarely.
Down they gaze
With fatal fascination;
Down, down
Into the whirling maggot sands
Of prejudice.

It was a challenge which, I believe, some of us did not ignore. We made a resolution in much the same way as she did in a later poem:

With but one life full certified,
And that of every gleam denied
My portion;
Close to the unrelenting sod,
Even as my fathers trod,
I've slumbered;
But now a surging, wild unrest
Uproots the poppies from my breast;
My soul awake, erect, anew,
I stand and face the star-swept blue,
And swear to make myself come true!

We knew too, though she had not then told us so beyond implications, that the day of whining for privileges and fair deals was over. The beggar was a fool:

Long have I beat with timid hands
Upon your leaden door,
Praying the patient futile prayer
my father prayed before.
Now soft o'er the threshold
there comes this counsel cool:
The strong demand, contend, prevail—
the beggar is a fool!

POWER IDEAS

There is a lesson here for the millions who are now caught up by vast changes in the balance of power and ideas. And there are further lessons in Mrs. Johnson's poetry for those who would understand the social role of the "half-caste" and the function of the poet. Can the healing and inspiring quality of her simple poems, can her conspicuous feeling for international brotherhood and the remote possibility of the Universal Man, be explained in terms of her mixed origins? It is an attravtive suggestion but, like all racial explanations, offers less than a half-truth. The truth is so much simpler that some modern literary critics might fail to understand it. Her universal values, her influence on people far removed from her environment, arise from a sensitive response to her own scene. She *knows* the heartaches of the colored mother, the dreams and prayers of "Old Black Men," the tears of the underprivileged. She has heard their voices coming across the years to her own front door:

Hear their viol-voices ringing
Down the corridor of years.

(*Continued on page* 674)

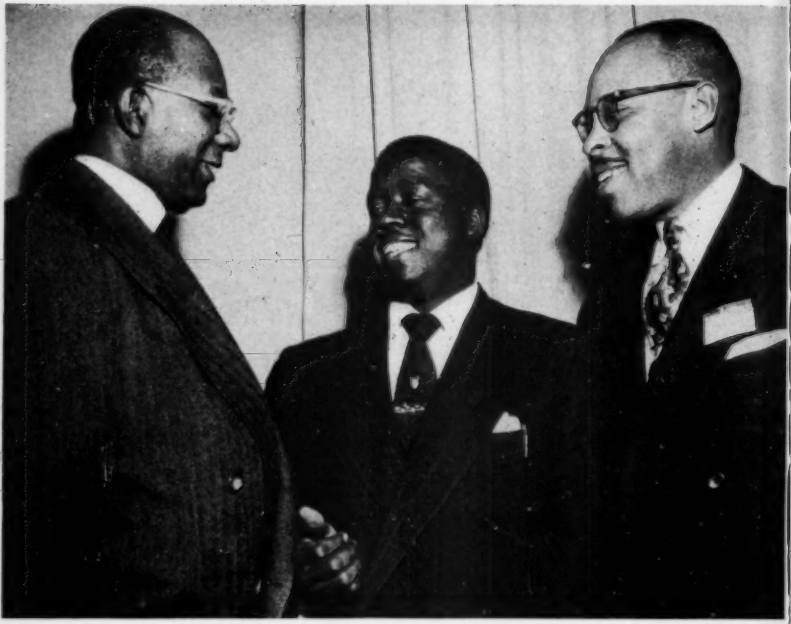
Wide World

NICE WORK CHAMP—*World middleweight boxing champion Sugar Ray Robinson receives congratulations of fellow performers after his night club debut as a dancer and master of ceremonies at the French Casino, New York City, November 7. Showgirls Li Perkins (center) and Anne Livings shake hands with Robinson.*

DID YOU KNOW –

That the late Countes Cullen is one of the real life characters in French novelist Maurice Ciantar's *The Mongolian* (1949)?

Ciantar calls him, in one passage, "my friend Countee Cullen, the great Negro American poet."



Pioneer Press

DIRECTOR OF BRANCHES *of the NAACP, Gloster B. Current (center) confers in Hallie Q. Brown Community House, St. Paul, Minnesota, with Rev. Denzil Carty (left), pastor of St. Philip's Episcopal church, and Rev. Floyd Massey, Jr., of Pilgrim Baptist church. Mr. Current was speaker at the Minnesota state conference of NAACP branches.*

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■ Israel's "black Jews" are her most artistically skilled craftsmen

Colored Jews as Master-Craftsmen

By Alfred Werner

AMONG Israel's one and a half million inhabitants the sixty thousand immigrants from Yemen form only a small group. Yet everybody in the country talks about them, many people with warmth and admiration, but a few who fear that the "white" Israelis might, some day, be crowded out by the "colored" Jews, are eager to stress the "primitiveness" of the Yemenites, instead of emphasizing their good qualities. Actually, it is a matter of record that among the "black" Jews who immigrated to Israel from North Africa, the Middle East, India, and other territories, the Yemenites are the most modest, most industrious, and artistically the most gifted.

These people have been quickly integrated into the country's economy. Inevitably, the women folk, who received no training whatsoever in their native Arabia, had to find employment in the households of "white" Jews where they serve with a graciousness and docility that is generally praised. As for the men, most of them know trades, but the majority seem to be anxious to redeem the Holy Land by means of arduous manual labor. Throughout the hills of Galilee, or in the barren mountains around Jerusalem, Yemenite workers are breaking stones or planting trees. When you see them at work with shovel and hoe, you are inclined to think that they are ill at ease — shouldn't they be riding camels instead of digging the country's hard soil that has been neglected for centuries? These small-boned, slender, olive-skinned people, with their long heads, large dark eyes, and coal-black hair, look very much like Bedouins of the desert.

Yet the country from which they were brought by airplane in the last four years is not a desert. Yemen, occupying the northwestern corner of the Arabian peninsula, has

DR. ALFRED WERNER *spent two months in Israel collecting material on the country's arts and crafts.*

mountains, and fertile valleys where there is an abundance of agriculture. Unfortunately, however, it also has a class system similar to that of India. Since the Yemenite Moslems consider handicrafts degrading, the local Jews, who constitute the lowest caste, became the artisan class. The Jewish blacksmiths made and repaired the tools of the Moslem farmer; the Jewish silversmiths decorated the warrior's daggers and belts; the Jewish tailor embellished the women's trousers (in Yemen, trousers are worn by women only) with exquisite embroidery. The Jewish artisans were masons, potters, weavers, and also "veterinarians" of a strange sort —they wrote amulets for sick cows.

A bracelet of Yemenite design.

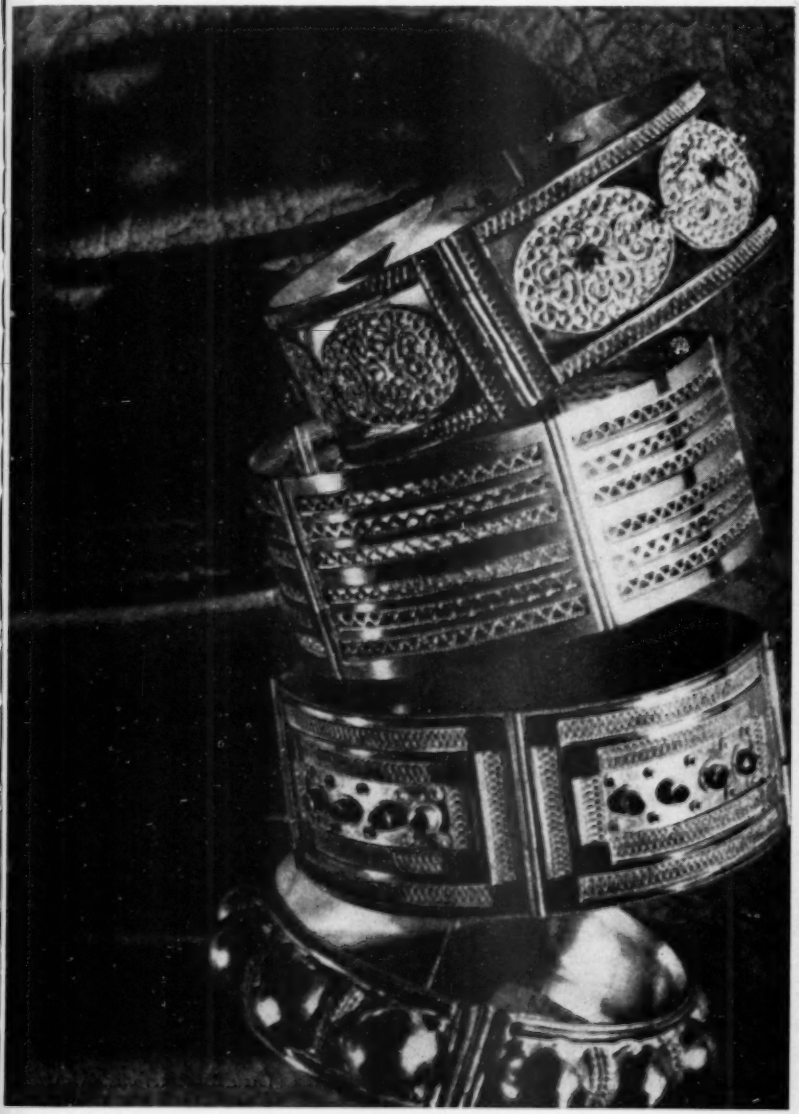
EAGER ZIONISTS

Yemen is a backward ecclesiastic state ruled by a Moslem dignitary, the Imam, with feudal despotism. The country's Jews were his property; to obtain his protection, they had to pay him a high tax. They were not much better off than were the Negro slaves in some of America's southern plantations; they could not ride a horse or donkey; they were not allowed to add an upper floor to their houses; they were restricted to a few trades; and they could not plead in court against a Moslem.

Hence, when Israel became an independent Republic in 1948, they were only too pleased to emigrate there. These eager Zionists claim that their forefathers had contributed fine silverwork and beautiful embroideries to embellish King Solomon's temple, and that they were descendants of those Israelites who accompanied the Queen of Sheba on her return from her visit to King Solomon. But sober historians are inclined to think that they are descendants of pagan Arabs who were converted to Judaism about fifteen centuries ago.

Be that as it may, they are strictly orthodox followers of the Mosaic law, and they were jubilant upon being allowed to "return" to what they considered the land of their fathers. On the one hand, the Imam was glad to get rid of the country's only "non-believers" (there are no Christians in Yemen); on the other hand, it slowly dawned upon him that this mass exodus of skilled men might upset his country's economy. Hence, he demanded that all emigrants should first teach their crafts to Moslems before their departure; in some cases, craftsmen were put in irons to

FOUR SAMPLES *of Yemenite silver oxidised and silver-plated bangles.*



make sure that they carried out their assignments. But those artisans smiled ironically at the task of giving such quick courses to people who had never touched a tool, for they remembered their proverb; "An artisan is he who has inherited his art from his fathers, not he who has learnt it in one year. . . ." Among the Yemenite Jews, the Talmudic warning that "he who doesn't teach his son a trade makes him a highwayman" was accepted as truth without question, and even the rabbis were craftsmen, in accordance with the saying: "The knowledge of the Scriptures is good — provided it is combined with work."

PRIZED PROFESSIONS

Many of the Yemenites arrived in Israel sick, and in tatters, but the women frequently wore rings, earrings, necklaces, brooches and bracelets so beautiful as to arouse the admiration and envy of the white Jewish women. Actually, jewelry of this sort had been known in Palestine prior to 1948, for individual Yemenites had trekked to the Holy Land long before the mass exodus. Before the first World War, an idealistic educator, Professor Boris Schatz, had summoned all Yemenite jewelers and silversmith available in Palestine to teach their crafts to art students at the Bezalel Academy. Sailors had acquired Yemenite "trinkets" at Arabian ports for their sweethearts at home, while the more elaborate items became the prized possessions of museums in London, Paris, and other capitals.

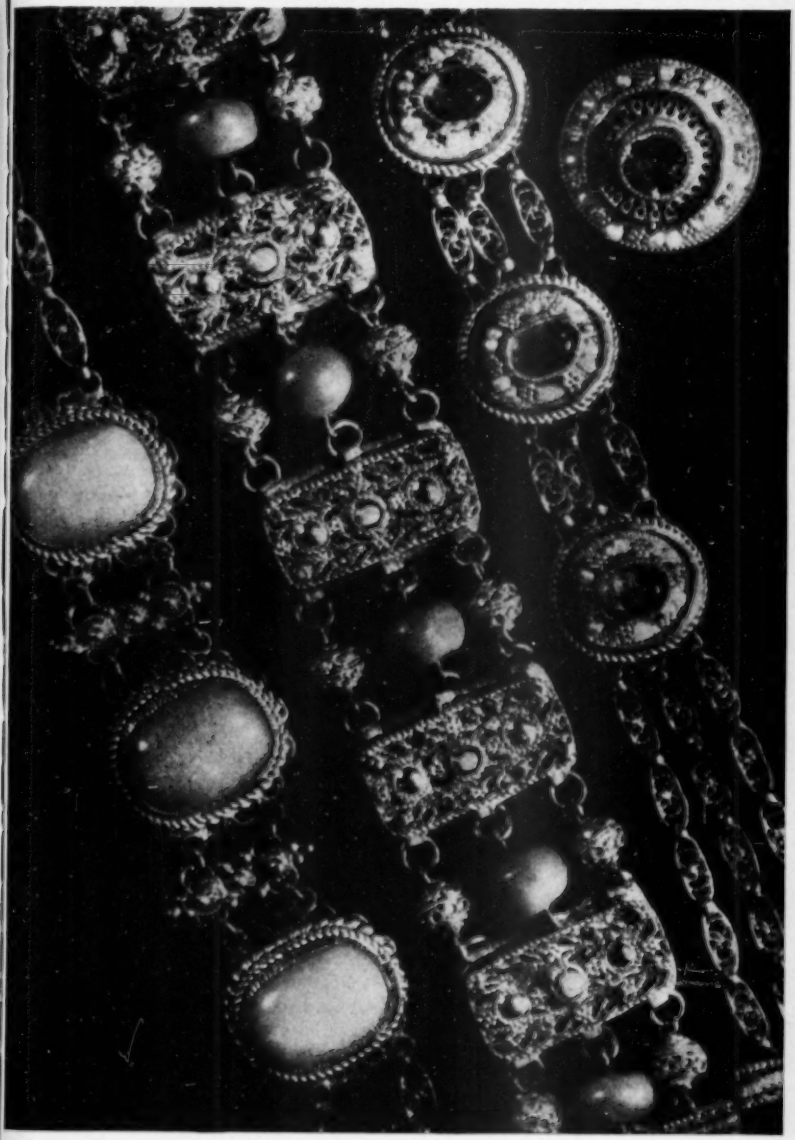
The special feature of Yemenite jewelry is richness of design, coupled with taste of arrangement. All instruments — such as blowpipes, hammers, tongs and pliers — were made by the craftsmen themselves, and apparently neither the tools nor the products have changed substantially since the times of Mohammed's conquest of Arabia. Within the style, however, there are marked differences in the make of various articles, for each family of artisans developed its own special design and technique, bequeathed through the centuries from father to son. As a matter of fact, many of the more complicated items were produced, not by one master, but through the cooperation of several specialists.

Owing to this division of labor, one man might beat out and cut into small strips the silver for filigree work, while another might cut the stones into various shapes, a third string the beads together, and so on. Some masters were famous for their designs. The most frequent design was a kind of flower ornament, formed of seven tiny silver globules soldered together by hand, but this design was varied and improved upon so frequently and in such an ingenious manner that a wealth of subpatterns has developed in the course of time.

BRIDAL GAUDERY

The craftsmen made this jewelry for Moslem families (who would pay them with agricultural products after the harvest was in) as well as

THESE YEMENITE *artifacts, from left, are a bracelet of silver filigree inset with amber; a bracelet of coral and silver beads; and a bracelet and brooch to match, of emeralds, with a circlet of pearls.*



for their own women folk. The Jewish bride, in particular was so covered with all kinds of diamonds, neckcharms, brooches, clasps, armlets, girdles and so on, all made of silver and adorned with pearls and semi-precious stones that one might wonder how she was able to walk to the altar. A Westerner might have called her, euphemistically speaking, "overdressed"; but to an Oriental the young lady looked quite charming and alluring.

Though the immigration of these primitive, still highly conscientious and honest artisans, transformed them from pariahs into free citizens, their art has suffered in the process. In Yemen, months could be devoted to the production of one beautiful object; there was no hurry, except that the piece had to be ready for the festive occasion, or for harvest time.

In Israel, owners of large jewelry manufacturing firms got hold of the Yemenite craftsmen, taught them to use modern equipment, and imbued their mind with the slogan which has been killing art in every corner of the globe. "Time is money." Without his clan, that is scattered all over the country, and without the working conditions to which he was used, the colored silversmith-jeweler has no alternative — he becomes a factory worker who sells, as it were, his special designs and skills to an employer who uses them for mass production. Often these new products retain some of the charm of the old, but more often they are poor imitations of the real treasures. If you compare a factory-made Yemenite bracelet, choker, or ring with a hand-worked one, the difference is obvious; the carefully made piece will have a hundred knots, holes and stitches for every one in the manufactured piece.

"GENUINE" PIECES RARE

Even more regrettable is the fact that modern craftsmen from Germany, Poland, and other European countries have tried to graft Yemenite designs upon their own work. In most cases, the result is highly disappointing. Berlin or Warsaw cannot be blended successfully with San'a and while undiluted primitiveness can be very charming, the application of a medieval, or even antique motif on a modern functional item can be very disturbing. I remember factory-made vases, ash trays, and cigarette holders upon which Yemenite designs were wrought artificially — to satisfy tourists who wished to bring them to New York as a "genuine" piece of Yemenite craftsmanship.

Today, it is almost impossible to get a real Yemenite work unless an immigrant woman is willing to part with her own finery; and she is usually quick to learn that she can charge enormous prices. But it seems that the glory of Yemenite artisanship is not entirely over. Far-sighted men in Israel are racking their brains for methods by which they might help one of the world's remaining folk arts to be revived. It would be a pity if the thousands of skilled Yemenite masters which Israel now contains should continue to waste their energies on mere factory work instead of producing, slowly, but meticulously, works of artistry that will outlast all the cheap items of mass production.

EDUCATIONAL FORUM—*C. W. Maxwell (center), president of the William Penn Business Institute in Philadelphia, Pa., and treasurer of the Philadelphia NAACP branch, is posing a question to Dr. James A. Colston, president of Knoxville College, Tenn., during the "NAACP Forum of the Air" program heard each Wednesday evening over WHAT. Awaiting his cue in the round-table discussion on "Selecting a Career" is Dr. Alonzo G. Moron (left), president of Hampton Institute. The two panel members were among the thirty-one United Negro College Fund presidents who met in Philadelphia for the Fund's ninth annual board meeting and convocation.*

Editorials

ELECTION POST-MORTEM

THE national elections are over and General Dwight Eisenhower is headed for the White House with one of the greatest personal majorities in American history. Just what this huge popular vote means we frankly do not know, although the political "dopsters" have read all kinds of significance into it.

However, despite the large majorities rolled up by the General we must not overlook the fact that the Republican party achieved no such landslide. In the House the Republicans have a bare majority of three or more, twenty-one more than they had in the last Congress. In the Senate the GOP has just a bare majority of one, if we exclude Maverick Republican Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon.

Negro Americans realize the grave responsibilities which confront the new administration, such as the Korean war, inflation, and the cold war with Russia. But they also expect the Republicans to stop their shadow-boxing on civil rights, now that they are in power, and to do something about revision of Rule 22 to restore democracy to the Senate. For without revision of Rule 22, which permits filibusters, no civil rights legislation has a chance of passing the Senate.

Negroes are just as keenly interested in civil rights as they were when President Truman first raised the issue. And they are going to judge Republican sincerity primarily by the actions which the new administration takes toward changing Rule 22. When the Democrats were in power, the Republicans blamed their temporizing on civil rights on the Southerners. Now they will not have that excuse and Negro citizens are expecting the GOP to redeem its civil rights pledges.

PHILIP MURRAY

THE Crisis and the NAACP mourn the passing of Philip Murray, president of the CIO and the Steel Workers Union. Mr. Murray represented the new type of American labor leader. He was an industrial unionist always concerned with the great masses of workers and not just the skilled few. Social, economic, and political questions affecting the national life were as much his concern as the more restricted problems of organized labor.

It was Mr. Murray who guided the CIO from its period of belligerency to one of social and community responsibility. Mr. Murray also was always especially concerned with the problems of minority workers.

The great mass of Negro workers in this country are employed in the basic industries — automobile, steel, rubber, the packing house — which were organized by the unions of the CIO. From the very inception of the CIO Philip Murray understood that the future development of unionism in these basic industries depended upon the racial solidarity of black and

white workers. He provided wise counsel and guidance to the many international unions affiliated with the CIO on the urgent problem of civil rights both within the factory and the community. It was under his leadership that the national CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination was formed. And in recent years Mr. Murray had been the active leader in the organization of the Civil Rights Committee of his own United Steel Workers of America. This country will be the poorer for the passing of Philip Murray.

ASSAULT BY LEER

AN all-white male jury in Yanceyville, North Carolina, has performed the incredibly stupendous feat of convicting a Negro for merely "looking at a white girl." Mack Ingram, a 45-year-old Negro farmer and the father of nine children, was given a six-month suspended sentence in November for "leering" at Mrs. Willie Webster. (The NAACP is going to appeal his case to the North Carolina supreme court). Ingram was convicted not on concrete evidence, but solely on Mrs. Webster's imagination.

The original charge against Ingram was assault with intent to rape, but at his first trial in November, 1951, this charge was reduced to assault on a female. What makes the case so preposterous is that Ingram never came closer to Mrs. Webster than seventy-five feet. What North Carolina has done is to serve notice on the world that to be white is to be right — especially if you are female — and that to be black is to be wrong.

NEGRO EMPLOYMENT

ADDITIONAL argument for civil rights legislation, especially a compulsory FEPC, is to be found in the census figures tabulated for the Senate report on "Employment and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States." The report was prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the subcommittee of labor and labor-management relations for the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the 82nd Congress.

Employment statistics for Negroes and whites for the period 1940-1950 are revealing:

Though the proportion of Negroes in the professions and skilled crafts have increased since 1940, Negroes are still predominantly employed in the lower paid and less skilled jobs. The average income of Negro workers drawing salaries and wages in 1950 was $1,295 in contrast to the $2,481 paid the average white worker for the same year. Still this marks an increase over the amount paid Negro workers in 1939. Another interesting fact is that Negroes have been on their current jobs an average of 2.4 years as compared with an average of 3.5 years for white workers. Family incomes for Negroes in 1950 was $1,869, 54 percent of the average income of $3,445 for white families.

These figures show the need for a nationwide FEPC backed by the enforcement powers of the federal government.

Looking and Listening . . .

UNIQUE SCHOLARSHIP

"SCHOLARSHIPS don't often make big news," writes John J. O'Hayre in the September issue of the *Interracial Review,"* official organ of the Catholic Interracial Council, New York City, "but one started at Regis College of Denver this year is an exception."

Then Mr. O'Hayre goes on to explain the origin of this "color-blind scholarship":

It has caught the eye of the nation just as firmly as did the violent death ten years ago of the lad for whom the scholarship is named—Walter Vernon Springs.

The Walter Springs Memorial Scholarship is new and unique and, in a certain way, courageous.

It is an interracial scholarship; it is dedicated to a Negro alumnus of the college who was slain ten years ago in a small southern town by an anxious white man; it will educate both a Negro boy and a White boy at the same time; it will bring both boys from different sections of the South.

No other scholarship in the United States today does this; nor has any scholarship ever done it before.

In setting up the scholarship, the former classmates of Walter Springs announced: 'This is no ordinary scholarship, for Walter was no ordinary young man.'

They were right on both counts.

Walter attended Regis College in the late 1930s and early 1940s. He was a short, square-built athlete who came from a large, poor family. He made his way through school with the aid of a partial scholarship and part-time jobs. For two years, while a freshman and a sophomore, he was the star fullback on the grid team and the top amateur boxer in the State. At all times jovial and gentle, he was much loved by the faculty and students alike. In 1941, the student body voted him 'the most popular student on the campus.'

In his junior year, Walter left to join the Army. As Father Joseph P. Donnelly, S. J., his close friend and spiritual advisor wrote the day of Walter's funeral: 'He enlisted though probably he wouldn't have been called. He told me he wanted to get into this war, for he hoped he would aid in the elimination of race prejudice. . . .'

But Walter was wrong. That's what killed him, race prejudice—race prejudice churning in an anxious white man.

On December 17, 1942, Walter was returning to his Texas base after spending a furlough with his family and friends in Denver. In a few days, he was to go on to officers candidate school. That was the schedule. But it didn't come off. Moments after he got off the train, a pistol bullet tore into his back and ripped out his chest. He lived barely long enough to get the Last Rites. . . .

GENEVA ASSOCIATION

ACCORDING to the October 1 *Council Newsletter* of the New York State Commission Against Dis-

crimination, the International Geneva Association, a world-renowned society of chefs, waiters, and managerial personnel, dedicated to the ultimate in service, recently voted unanimously to revise its constitution and by-laws so as to remove its 75-year-old ban on Negro members.

"This action by the association, whose membership numbers more than 5,000, constitutes the first important break in an almost exclusively white employment pattern within the service departments of the fashionable restaurants and hotels of New York."

Commissioner Elmer A. Carter, who directed a series of conferences with the association extending over more than a year, explains that although the Geneva Association is primarily a benevolent organization, it does operate as an informal employment agency for its membership, although it charges no fees for its services. It is this latter function which makes the association a prime source of recruitment for the more expensive hotels and restaurants.

By banning Negro members the Geneva Association had helped to perpetuate the pattern of all-white employment of chefs, waiters, and managerial personnel in most of the exclusive hotels and restaurants in New York state.

"SOUTHERN CRISIS"

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, editor of the Richmond, Virginia, *Times-Dispatch,* writes in the November 8 issue of *The Saturday Evening Post* on the "Southern Crisis: The Segregation Decision." The liberal Virginia editor argues that "it would be far easier to arrive at a meeting of minds on the South's race problem if the extremists on both sides could somehow be kept quiet." Yet Mr. Dabney hedges on the central issue of equality in southern public school education.

He admits that there is a small group of white southerners who would like to see segregation eliminated from the public schools, but these are not the white extremists he has in mind. His extremists are members of the Ku Klux Klan. And his Negro extremists turn out not to be members of the NAACP, but some anonymous colored Community Chest workers in Richmond who refused to stand when the band struck up "Dixie." As a matter of fact, he never mentions the NAACP in his article; nor that the school patrons bringing the suits in the South are all southern Negroes.

He p--fesses to believe that equal school facilities for whites and Negroes in the South can be achieved with segregation. In proof he offers a few isolated instances where the new Negro high school is better than the facilities offered for whites. But Mr. Dabney either ignores or fails to grasp the point that the majority of southern Negroes now know that there can be no equality under segretion—in the public schools or anywhere else.

"THE UNTOUCHABLES"

UNLIKE Mr. Dabney the Southern Conference Educational

Fund, Inc., knows that segregation and equality are mutually exclusive. In a recently published pamphlet on segregation in hospitals, titled *The Untouchables*, the SCEF finds "racial segregation, in any degree, inappropriate for an institution responsible to the unforseeable demands of human misfortune."

The Southern Conference Educational Fund recently polled the 2414 medical institutions listed in the American Hospital Directory for 18 southern and border states and the District of Columbia. From 711 replies—a 29 per cent return—it was learned that 584 (82 per cent) admit Negroes as patients and that 33,451 beds (32 per cent) of a total of 102,969 beds are available to them.

While the amount of bed space seemingly follows census figures for the region, more than two-thirds of this space is fixed by quota, with no allowance made for degree of need or special contingencies. By virtue of segregation practices then, the Negro, whose generally depressed economic status tends to increase his need for hospitalization, is often turned back by an inflexible, arbitrary barrier.

The hospital administrators were also asked what racial policy they considered best suited for the health needs of their communities. Approximately 62 per cent favored the admission of Negroes on a segregated basis; 10 per cent favored the maintenance of separate hospitals for white and Negroes.

But this "approved order" does not work out well in practice, since the administrative machinery of a segregated hospital is always taxed by emergency cases. "A prospective patient, lying bleeding and unconscious on a stretcher, cannot be crisply told to go to an institution that serves 'his own people.' Yet, in essence, that has been done, is being done, and will be done—even though the rejected one dies as a result."

NEGRO BULL FIGHTER

PROBABLY the only full-fledged Negro bullfighter in the world, according to *Temas*, a Spanish-language magazine published in New York City, is Rafael Santa Cruz. Señor Santa Cruz was born in Lima Peru on July 3, 1929, and started life as a skilled mechanic. It was Conchita Cintron's visit to Lima in 1946 that turned him to bull fighting. He made his first appearance in a bull ring in Lima on March 23, 1947, and in 1950 went to Spain, where he has lived and fought ever since. He says that he has found no color prejudice against him in Spain, where people judge him by his art and not by the color of his skin.

SOUTH AFRICA

SPEAKING at a Nationalist party rally in Pretoria, Tom Naude, the minister of posts and telegraphs, said that the South African government would have to decide whether the nation's money was to be used to help such an institution as the Witwatersrand University "where no distinction exists between white and half-white." There is no social segregation at this university, and "white girls went about with 'Kaffirs' and carried placards with slogans such as 'Away with Apartheid,'" asserted the minister.

Unlike other universities in South

Africa, the Witwatersrand University mixed black and white people together, and even on the tennis courts they were not separated. That was not in harmony with the policy being followed by the ordinary people of South Africa. "If they want to live like that, it is all good and well, but they will have to look elsewhere for their funds," Mr. Naude said. "The government received a mandate from the people, and we will see that it is executed."

Press comment on Minister Naude's speech was sharply divided between the English and Afrikaan's papers. *The Star* said the minister lacked a sense of responsibility; *The Rand Daily Mail* dubbed his speech "an alarming argument; *Die Transvaler* said the minister deserved "the thanks of everyone"; and the minister of education, Mr. Viljoen, said that though the present system had been inherited, action would be taken.

PROFESSORS QUIT

EIGHT professors at the University of the South have resigned, effective June 1953, in protest against the ban on admitting Negro students to the university's school of theology. The controversy started last June when university trustees held that it was not advisable to admit Negro students. A recommendation by the provincial synod of the fourth district that Negro students be enrolled had been made several months earlier, although this body could not compel action. Four days later the eight teachers disapproved of the ruling and jointly signed their letter of resignation, submitted on October 6. The college was founded in 1858, and the school of theology in 1878.

TROUBLE IN KENYA

BRITISH colonial officials and American newspapers have given every reason but the correct one for the recent outburst of Mau-Mau terrorism in the East African crown colony of Kenya. Probably the silliest reasons of all have been advanced by Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttelton, who flew out to Nairobi in November for a personal inspection of the trouble zone. Mr. Lyttelton is quoted as saying that it is den[illegible]l of "certain sex emotional outlets" that has led the Kikuyus to join the Mau Mau, a native secret society. On another occasion he explained the terrorism as the result of European repression of the warlike tendencies of the natives. Of course, this twaddle fools no one and is simply a flippant avoidance of the issue.

The real issue is land alienation. The natives have been robbed of their lands. This whole land problem is outlined in the November 1 issue of the *New Times* and *Ethiopia News* (London, England):

> It is extremely regrettable that the statesmen of all parties in the British Parliament have thus far shown themselves oblivious of the fact that the unrest which has long been smouldering in Kenya and now has burst into flame is due to the iniquitous policy of transferring to European settlers the land the African people have occupied from immemorial times. Not alone have vast areas of the best lands been alien-

ated to European settlers, mainly British, but still vaster areas, including all the healthy and well-watered highlands, which resemble those of Ethiopia, have been reserved for eventual white settlement only.

The robbery of African lands which commenced on a large scale during the governorship of Sir Charles Elliot (1901-4) has latterly been authorized by the Kenya Crown Lands Ordinance, No. 27 of 1938, and the Native Lands Trust Ordinance of 1938. These two Ordinances are well known to Her Majesty's Government. . . .

The Africans of Kenya had no voice in the Ordinance which have accelerated the land robbery, long a burning scandal. They have no direct representation in the Kenya Legislative Council. In that Council of fifty-three members, six members only, who are nominated by the Government Civil Servants, are nominally supposed to 'represent' the interests of the five million Africans of Kenya . . . 90,000 Indians resident in Kenya are permitted by the British minority to elect six representatives, 24,000 Arabs are allowed to elect one representative and one Arab is nominated by the Government. The 30,000 Europeans elect fourteen representatives, and 25 government appointees also protect their interests—a total of 39 . . .

It is more than 30 years since Royal Commissions began travelling to Kenya to consider the sad results of the monstrous land robberies, and the wretched underpayment of the defrauded Africans, who in consequence were driven to labor for white settlers on the lands of their own forefathers. By 1949, despite the series of Royal Commissions, the United Nations Economic and Social Council reported that the average personal *per capita* income of Europeans in Kenya was only £6—and for the Africans that was a somewhat rosey estimate.

As a result of the grievous report of the Hilton Young Commission, the MacDonald Labour Government in 1930 issued a Memorandum stating that 'to remove finally from the native mind any feeling of insecurity in regard to his tribal lands' no more land would be alienated:

'The lands within the boundaries, as finally gazetted for Native Reserves, are reserved for the use and benefit of the natives for ever. Any derogation from this solemn pledge would, in the view of His Majesty's Government, be not only a flagrant breach of trust, but also, in view of the inevitable effect upon the natives, a serious calamity from which the whole colony would not fail to suffer.'

Though greatly belated, these words were prophetic. The emergence of Mau Mau has proved their truth.

Within a year of the MacDonald Government's solemn pledge gold was discovered on the Kavirando African Reserve. Instead of permitting its humble folk to benefit by the discovery, they were evicted, and the Kenya Legislative Council enacted a new law granting concessions to British and other whites to exploit the gold found on this land, which had been gazetted for Africans 'forever.' The evicted Africans complained in vain to the Colonial Office that they had not even been granted other land in exchange for that which had proved so rich. They protested: 'Not much trust can be placed in the solemn pledges of the British Government.'

Another Royal Commission to investigate the causes of unrest was sent out in 1932, under Sir Morris Carter, but in 1937 the Kikuyus of the Trigoni district were evicted from their farms. In 1938 the same fate befell the people of the Wakamba Reserve, east of Nairobi.

In 1939 the Wataita were evicted from the Taita Hills.

In 1948 30,000 men, women and children were evicted from the Ol-Engruone Settlement, to which they had been sent when they were previously ejected from their lands in the Kiambu district to make way for European settlers. The misery of these mass evictions can be imagined. The Kenya Union made vain appeals to the British Government and to the United Nations. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta urged the Kenya Government 'to release the unoccupied land in the Highlands, and throw it open for development by Africans, with the necessary assistance from the Colonial Development fund.'

Such wise advice has been ignored The Colonial Development fund has been restricted for the improvement of European occupied lands. The iniquitous land policy has been obstinately continued.

To those who are aware of these facts, the massing of troops in Kenya, and the secretly prepared sudden arrests, occasion shame and disgust.

In such a state of affairs Sismondi the Swiss economist and historian wrote in 1836: 'Every man of the privileged class can count over against him five indivdiuals not belonging to the privileged class, and there is between them such an opposition that the rich say to the poor, 'Our life is your death,' and the poor reply to them, 'Your death would be our life.'"

"MISS UNIVERSE"

SO far as we know no American journal has commented upon the fact that the "Miss Universe of 1952" beauty contest held in Long Beach, California, earlier in the year did not include a single authentic black woman. It was left to Luciano Carneiro, American correspondent of the Brazilian picture magazine, *O Cruzeiro,* to point this out. Carneiro quotes a spectator: "But I don't see a single authentic Miss Africa, at least one without European blood, in this bevy of international beauties."

"Quite true," added the reporter. "There were white women, yellow women, and brown women all competing for the title of 'Miss Universe.' Black women? Not a single one. Since the contest was held in the United States this oversight was probably just coincidental."

He also remarked that the ideal beauty had to meet so-called Anglo-Saxon beauty standards. That meant an emphasis on whiteness and blondness, even, he says, if it had to come out of the peroxide bottle. All of which reminds us of René Guyon's observation in his *A Rational Sexual Policy*: "One of the firmly held convictions of the white race," says Guyon, "along with their other conceits, is their esthetic superiority." Despite, he says, some striking types of Aryan beauty, western women are far from being the most *seductive type* of feminity; for, says Guyon, they are "too heavy, often horsy, too stout, and too masculine to even be compared with the best specimens of non-white feminity."

ANNIVERSARIES

OF THE five employees of Socony-Vacuum Company, Inc., listed in the "Anniversaries" section of the *Pegasus Club News,* a paper published for the employees, one is Negro Percy de Freitas who has been with the company for 25 years.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

ELECTION RESULTS

NAACP Board Comment: The NAACP board of directors, at its regular monthly meeting on November 10, issued the following statement on the results of the November 4 elections:

The American people have entrusted to the Republican party, with President-elect Dwight David Eisenhower and a Republican majority in both houses of Cougress, the responsibility of guiding the nation through the coming perilous years.

This is a grave responsibility involving not only the securing of peace and the maintenance of the common welfare but also the solemn obligation for the Republican party to put into effect its pledges regarding civil rights.

The party platform and General Eisenhower have pledged to abolish discrimination and segregation in the District of Columbia and in all federally-controlled services, facilities and installations; to eliminate lynching and the poll tax; to enact federal legislation 'to further just and equitable treatment in the area of discriminatory employment practices'; and to appoint 'qualified persons, without distinction of race, religion or national origin, to responsible positions in the government.'

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has continuously and consistently sought the elimination of racial barriers through legislation, legal action and education, will continue to work toward this objective and pledges its full support to the president-elect and the new Congress in efforts to implement the acceptable parts of the party platform and the subsequent pledges made during the campaign.

Knowing that the filibuster is one of the chief roadblocks to passage of civil rights legislation, we also urge those Republican leaders, who pledged that a victory for their party would pave the way for civil rights, to work for the revision of Rule 22 to make possible majority rule in the U. S. Senate. We also call upon the Republican party to support the Ives-Humphrey FEPC bill, which contains enforcement powers.

OBITUARIES

Philip Murray: In November the Association eulogized Philip Murray, president of the CIO and the United Steelworkers of America (CIO), who died on November 9, for his contributions toward human freedom. Mr. Murray had been a member of the NAACP board of directors for the past six years.

In a telegram sent to Mrs. Murray, on behalf of the national board, NAACP executive secretary Walter White said that "Americans and world democracy have lost a stalwart champion" with Mr. Murray's passing.

The full text of the message reads:

Every member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People joins in profound sorrow with you in the passing of your distinguished husband and our friend. We were honored to have him serve as a member of the National Board of Directors of the NAACP for six years and much of whatever progress towards human freedom which the Association has contributed was due to the uncompromising stand and wise judgment of Philip Murray. The labor movement today is freer of racial and religious bias because of the forthright opposition which he always led against bigotry. American and world democracy have lost a stalwart champion in his passing.

The human Rights Award given by the West Coast NAACP was awarded posthumously to Mr. Murray at a banquet in his honor on November 18.

Mrs. Mary Gannett: In October the Association expressed its sorrow at the death of Mrs. L. T. Gannett of Rochester, N. Y., a life-long crusader for human rights and the mother of Lewis Gannett, book-review editor of the New York *Herald-Tribune* and a member of the NAACP board. Mrs. Gannett, who was 98 at the time of her death, was active in the Rochester branch until she was 90. She subsequently became a life member of the Association.

LEGAL

Florida University: The United States Supreme Court was asked in October to review and reverse a decision handed down by the supreme court of Florida upholding the right of the University of Florida to exclude qualified Negro students.

Seeking admission to the Florida university are Virgil Hawkins who applied to the law school; Rose Boyd, the school of pharmacy; Oliver Maxey, the graduate school of engineering; and Benjamin Finley, the graduate school of agriculture. The petition before the U. S. Supreme Court, filed by association attorneys, asks that the university be ordered to admit these applicants at once subject only to the same rules and regulations applicable to all other students.

When the Negro students first applied for admission in 1949 the courses they desired were offered by the state only at the University of Florida. Later, establishment of these courses at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes was authorized. On August 1, 1950, the Florida supreme court ruled that this authorization was sufficient compliance with the requirements of the U. S. Constitution and refused to issue a final order.

The state court reiterated this refusal in June, 1952, on the ground that the required courses established at Florida A and M College were

equal to those offered at the University of Florida. Meanwhile, the U.S. Supreme Court had refused to review the case because no final judgment had been entered by the Florida court. Justices Hugo Black and William O. Douglas dissented from this decision.

Railroad Segregation: The Association is "prepared to take necessary legal steps against all of the southern railroads" if any segregation in interstate commerce remains after the first of the year, says Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel.

Commenting on the refusal of the United States Supreme Court to review an appeal by the Atlantic Coast Line from a lower court decision holding that segregation of passengers is an undue burden on interstate commerce, Mr. Marshall said this decision, together with previous decisions striking down segregation on interstate motor vehicles and in dining cars, "should be enough to break down segregation in all interstate transportation."

Past experiences, Mr. Marshall said, has nevertheless made it appear "doubtful that the southern railroads will follow the law as set down by the Supreme Court." He added that the legal defense staff of the Association, before taking further legal action, would give the railroads until the first of the year to revise their rules "so as to prohibit all segregation in the coaches as well as the Pullman cars and dining cars throughout the South."

Mr. Marshall extended "heartiest congratulations" to the Virginia state conference of NAACP branches and its lawyers, who have handled the case from the time that William C. Chance was ejected from an A.C.L. coach in June, 1948, for refusing to move to a jim-crow car. He said the Association considers the question of segregation in transportation "one of the most important issues before the country today" and added that the high court's action "signifies the early removal of all jim-crow transportation."

Leering Conviction: The Association is going to file an appeal in the case of Max Ingram, "the man who looked at a white girl."

The 45-year-old Ingram, father of nine children, was convicted by an all-white male jury of assault against a female for "leering" at a white girl who admitted he never came closer to her than 75 feet. He was given a six-month suspended sentence, bond was posted, and appeal to the supreme court of North Carolina was noted.

Mr. Ingram was originally charged with assault with intent to rape, but at his first trial in November, 1951, the charge was reduced to assault on a female, which carries a lesser penalty. The trial ended with a hung jury when two of the four Negroes on the jury held out for acquittal and refused to vote for conviction. Retrial was scheduled for March, 1952, but was postponed until November after the courthouse burned down.

NAACP attorneys representing Mr. Ingram are Martin A. Martin of Richmond, Conrad O. Pearson of Durham, and E. F. Upchurch, Jr., of High Point, N. C.

MISCELLANEOUS

Life Memberships: Four new names have been added during the past few months to the life membership rolls of the Association. These $500 memberships have been taken out by Harley Crall of Battle Creek, Michigan; the Imperial Council of the Ancient Order of the Mystic Shrine, Buffalo New York; D. J. Travis Realty Company, Chicago, Illinois; and The Links, Inc., Los Angeles, California.

Contributions of $100 or more received by the Association during September and October include: Mrs. Elizabeth Coolidge, Massachusetts, $250; Bernard Marx, New York City, $100; American Bridge Association, Washington, D. C., $100; and Community Chest Welfare Fund, Department of Correction, New York City, $100.

CONFERENCE SPEAKER *Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune (seated third from right) with committee members of the Buffalo, N. Y., NAACP branch who sponsored the local community living conference. Front row, from left: Mrs. Elizabeth Britt, Mrs. Virginia Means, Mrs. Jeannette Smith, Mrs. Sidney Johnson, Mrs. Bethune, Dr. Anna Burrell, and Mrs. Pernella Byrd. Standing: Mrs. Harmon Moore, Mrs. Clarence Maloney, Mrs. Elizabeth Totten, Mrs. Thelma Garnet, Mrs. Mary Dixon, Mrs. Sherman A. Tisdale, Mrs. Mary Turner, Mrs. Mary Maloney, and Mrs. Matilda Briscoe.*

What the Branches Are Doing

California: NAACP administrator Roy Wilkins was featured speaker at the October 19 meeting of the SAN DIEGO branch.

Delegates from more than twenty branches in southern California and Nevada held a special conference in Santa Ana on October 2, with Harry Hall and Garfield Johnson representing the San Diego branch. Discussion was centered on techniques and strategy in handling problems of discrimination in housing and defense industries as result of the large number of complaints about the exclusion of Negroes and other minorities from public and federally financed and inspected housing and the discriminatory practices in employment in defense industries.

Delaware: Dr. John Mitchell, director of the Psychological Services Center and associate professor in the school of education at the University of Delaware, addressed the NEWARK branch on October 15 on the subject of "Human Relations Know-How in Solving Community Problems." The meeting was followed by an auction for the benefit of the legal defense fund.

Illinois: The CHICAGO branch reports that its Tag Day on September 27 was the most successful one ever held. Through the efforts of Mrs. Jean McCray and Mrs. Mary Ann Parker, co-chairman of the affair, more than 500 women were recruited to be "taggers."

Annual membership campaign of the branch began under the direction of Bernard Brown, assistant field secretary. Several hundred persons agreed to act as captains, leaders, and workers.

The CAIRO branch, under the militant leadership of Dr. W. A. Fingal, president, successfully completed its program to integrate the public schools. In September, more than 65 Negro students (grade, junior, and senior high school) entered the formerly all-white schools nearest their homes, and without incident. This peaceful integration of the schools was in marked contrast to the reign of terror which accompanied NAACP efforts to end jim crow last January.

Mississippi: Delegates representing sixteen of the 19 NAACP branches of the state adopted a series of resolutions on November 2 relating to voting, education, police brutality, FEPC, and housing. The conference pledged itself to full use of the courts to secure voting rights; opposed all forms of segregation in public education; viewed police brutality with alarm; favored a federal FEPC with enforcement powers; and called for a long-range housing program.

New England: The executive board of the New England regional NAACP conference met in NEW BEDFORD, Massachusetts, on September 21. There were representatives from 202 branches, 25 youth councils, and 19 state and regional conferences.

New York: The mid-year conference of New York state NAACP branches was held in SCHENECTADY October 17-19, with Mrs. E. Gordon, president, delivering the keynote address. On Saturday morning, October 18, "Organized labor and the fight against discrimination" was discussed by Al Hartnett, director of civil rights committee, IUE-CIO; Theodore Brown, international representative Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Frank Shane, director of civil rights committee United Steelworkers CIO; Russell Allen, international education director Brotherhood of Papermakers AFL; and Herbert Hill, labor relations assistant NAACP; at the Saturday afternoon meeting "Slum clearance and urban redevelopment HHFA" was discussed by Mrs. Hortense Gabel, New York State Commission on Discrimination in Housing; Harry Vodery, legislative chairman, New York state NAACP; and S. Edward Gamarekian, housing chairman New York state NAACP; at the evening meeting the candidates and the issues were discussed by Senator Irving Ives, Republican candidate for U. S. Senate; Hon. John Cashmore, Democratic candidate for U. S. Senate; Dr. Herbert S. Counts, Liberal candidate for U. S. Senate; and Herbert Hill, of the NAACP national office. The Sunday afternoon meeting was devoted to the NAACP legal action program, with John Sandifer and Rev. Thomas Slater as main speakers.

Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and president emeritus of Bethune-Cookman college, Daytona Beach, Florida, delivered the closing address to the conference on community living on October 26, at the First Shiloh Baptist church, sponsored by the BUFFALO branch. The welcome address was made by City Judge Madge Taggart and a special selection was rendered by the Cathedral Choir of the Bethel AME church, under the director of choir master Gehrnard Williams.

Pennsylvania: The JOHNSTOWN branch marked its thirty-fifth anniversary with a banquet on October 8, with Attorney David Wolfe as guest speaker. Attorney Wolfe, formerly a first assistant district attorney in Cambria county, discussed Senate Rule 22.

Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, addressed the 1952 convention (September 26-28) of NAACP state branches on issues and candidates in the presidential election.

Dr. B. K. Johnson of Johnstown was reelected to his second one-year term as president of the conference, and Ralph White of Philadelphia was named to his second one-year term as president of the state NAACP youth councils.

Other convention highlights included a workshop on membership drives led by John Flamer, assistant field secretary for the state; an address at the Friday evening youth night session by Herbert Marshall, head of NAACP youth work in Virginia; forums on civil rights laws and employment of Negroes; and a talk by Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, national NAACP board member.

Sound training, hard work and ability, were listed as prerequisites for a successful career by panel speakers on the "NAACP Forum of the Air" program sponsored by the PHILADELPHIA branch over radio station WHAT.

Participating in the round-table discussion on "Selecting a Career," moderated by C. W. Maxwell, president of the William Penn Business Institute and treasurer of the local branch, were Dr. Alonzo G. Moron, president of Hampton Institute, and Dr. James Colston, president of Knoxville college.

Virginia: J. Farley Ragland of the VIRGINIA state conference of NAACP branches wrote a special ballad for the state convention held in South Boston October 10-12. Title of the balled was "Join the N. A. A. C. P."

College and School News

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George Howard was elected president of Lloyd Halls, a student organization at the UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS. Mr. Hall, a 24-year-old law student from Pine Bluff, won by polling 80 of the 188 votes cast. He is the first Negro to be elected to this post.

■

Attorney Robert H. Campbell of Washington, D. C., has been elected president of the KNOXVILLE COLLEGE national alumni association to suceed Attorney William N. Lovelace.

■

Reverend Donald Harrington, pastor of the Community Church, New York City, and Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE, were the key speakers at the annual conference of the International Relations Club, a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace affiliate, held on the CSC campus in October. Ten Ohio colleges and universities were in attendance.

The New York minister spoke on the goal of a united world, stressing the fact that our present balance-of-power program does not work for peace. Dr. Wesley spoke on the rise of nationalism in Africa, exploding the theory that Africa is not ready for self-government.

President Wesley has been appointed chairman of the resolutions committee of the Ohio College Association by association president, Dr. Howard W. Jones. Central State dean, Dr. Howard H. Long, was

appointed by Dr. Jones to serve on the teaching aids committee.

■

Dr. Rudolph Jones, formerly a price economist with the Office of Price Stabilization in Washington, D. C., replaces Dr. Joseph H. Douglass as dean at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE. Dr. Douglass has accepted a one-year lectureship at the Cairo, Egypt, School for Social Work.

■

The French language division of HOWARD UNIVERSITY'S department of romance languages has been named the recipient of the Association for French-American Goodwill's 1952 award.

The award, which is given annually to ten educational institutions in America, was based on contributions of the French language division to the development of French culture in the United States and the mutual friendship of the young people of the two countries.

Dr. James A. Bayton, professor of psychology, has been named recipient of the American Marketing Association's award for "Significant contribution to the field of marketing by federal government personnel in 1951." Dr. Bayton received the award jointly with Shelby Robert, Jr., of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

■

The history and political science departments of MOREHOUSE COLLEGE sponsored a United Nations Day in October under the title "Effectiveness of the United Nations." Purpose and achievements of the United

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Nations were the main topics of discussion.

Dr. James H. Birnie, chairman of the department of biology, has been appointed to the editorial staff of *Excerpta Medica*, a journal published in Amsterdam, Holland. The journal reviews medical literature throughout the world and Dr. Birnie will abstract American publications in physiology and biochemistry.

Professor Walter R. Chivers, chairman of the department of sociology, and Mrs. Carrie Chivers, assistant professor of sociology, have collaborated in the preparation of a syllabus to be used in their course in social science at Morehouse. The Chivers syllabus, titled *Man and Society*, emphasizes the concept of culture as a foundation stone "on which a mass of dependable social science knowledge can be formulated."

■

Harriet Mitchell's graduate thesis (1952) at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY is on record in the Israel Office of Information in New York City. Titled "Israel: Blazing the Trail of Democracy in the Middle East," the book evaluates the various factors involved in the emergence of Israel as an independent nation.

The Atlanta University School of Social Work began its thirty-second year of professional training in September with the registration of 78 students, all but one of whom are candidates for the Master of Social Work degree. The 78 students represent 25 states from Minnesota on the north to the Virgin Islands on the South, and from Sacramento, California, on the west, to New York on the east.

The enrollment includes 41 advanced students who are at present engaged in their out-of-town block-field work experience in various cities.

■

SPELMAN COLLEGE gave soprano Mattiwilda Dobbs a gala homecoming at her premiere American recital.

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Mischa Elman, world famous violinist, began SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY's lyceum series on November 7 with a concert.

■

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE will conduct a one-year study of Negro health practices in southern rural communities under a grant of $15,000 from the Health Information Foundation. Purpose of the study will be to identify prevailing Negro health practices and to determine what factors influence these practices.

Twenty-six Tuskegee students are listed in *Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges for* 1953.

■

John Rascoe, a senior from Ossining, New York, has been installed as president of the SHAW UNIVERSITY student body for 1952-1953.

■

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY, according to president Charles L. Hill, has received substantial support from the AME church, which has contributed about $850,000.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE observed United Nations Day in October, with D. K. Hingorani, educational attaché of the Indian embassy, as main speaker.

The fall conference of extension agents was held at the college October 27-31 under the direction of L. A. Toney, state leader and director of college extension service.

Dr. John W. Davis, WVSC president, was sworn in as United States director of Technical Cooperation Assistance in Liberia, Africa, on October 16 in the office of the Secretary of State. The day before the West Virginia State Board of Education gave him leave of absence and appointed Dr. William James Wallace, of the department of chemistry, as acting president.

Annual scholarship convocation of the college was held on October 12, with Attorney Charles Logan as convocation speaker.

■

Dr. William Faulkner, dean of the FISK UNIVERSITY chapel, delivered four addresses before the Indiana Methodist Adult Bible Teachers In-

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stitute of Indianapolis October 17-18. His subjects were "The Central Teachings of our Bible" and "The Message of Jesus for our Times."

The Fisk Stagecrafters opened their season November 6-8 with J. B. Priestley's "An Inspector Calls."

Tobias Weaver of the Ministry of Education in England was a Fisk visitor November 7-9. Visiting this country at the invitation of the American government, Mr. Weaver is particularly interested in the social and administrative control of education.

■

The school of education at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE celebrated American Education Week November 9-15 with a series of conferences and addresses. The program theme was "Children in Today's World."

One hundred and twenty students enrolled in the department of military science and tactics at VSC were commissioned cadet second lieutenants (ROTC, QMC) at ceremonies held on October 15. During the commissioning exercises, Cadet Captain Vaughn Roberts of Kings Mountain, N. C., was designated a "distinguished military student" and awarded the Distinguished Military Student Badge.

The DMS award is given to the ROTC student who displays outstanding qualities of leadership, high moral character, and definite aptitude for military service; and who has creditably accomplished his academic requirements and demonstrated his leadership ability while participating in recognized campus activities.

M/Sgt. Robert Cosby, Infantry, Regular Army, former first sergeant

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and drill perfectionist with the famous 7777th EUCOM Honor Guard, has reported to VSC for duty with Detachment 11, 2304-3, in the department of military science and tactics.

State college's 80-piece band, under the direction of Nathaniel Gatlin, took part in the Tobacco Festival parade on October 17 in Richmond, Virginia.

■

Governor Lawrence Wetherby of Kentucky was principal speaker in September at dedication of KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE's new science-classroom building. C. R. Graham, librarian of Louisville's first non-segregated library, The Free Public Library, was assembly speaker on September 30 during English emphasis week. His subject was "The Library in a Democracy."

The Kroger Company has made two scholarships available to the college for the year 1952-53 in the amount of $200 each. Students selected for these scholarships were chosen on the basis of need and scholarship by the scholarship committee of the college.

Don Welch, a member of the "travel staff" of the Student Volunteer Movement, was worship service speaker on November 9.

■

The ALBANY STATE COLLEGE choir broadcast over station WALB on October 8 as a part of the program of the United Sharing Appeal. Reverend Thomas Grissom, Jr., pastor of the Methodist church, Columbus, Georgia, was guest speaker at vesper services on October 19.

■

Two new awards have been announced for LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) students in journalism. The Clarence M. Long, Jr., prize of $20 in cash will go annually to the member of the staff of the *Lincoln Clarion*, campus weekly newspaper, who does the most outstanding reporting for the paper during the year. A cash prize of $25 has been established by the faculty of the school of journalism to honor the student who

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■

Catholic primary schools in Wilmington, Delaware, went interracial with the opening of the fall term. Children were accepted in their parish schools without reference to their race as long as classroom space was available. This action does not represent a new policy, since interracial classes had previously been instituted at two elementary schools of the Wilmington Diocese, located in Maryland, at Elkton and Salisbury.

■

Continued progress by the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS in placing qualified Negro students in outstanding preparatory schools has been made during the past year with the acceptance by 13 schools of 24 students, of whom 11 received a total of $14,675 worth of scholarship aid.

Groton, one of the nation's top preparatory schools, this year accepted its first Negro student through NSSFNS services.

■

The number of medical schools with Negro undergraduate students increased from 29 in 1947-48 to 48 in 1951-52. In this period the number of Negro undergraduate medical students increased from 591 to 697.

Writing in the September issue of the *Journal of the National Medical Association*, Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, dean of the college of medicine at Howard university, gives the results

DR. RUDOLPH JONES, *new acting dean at Fayetteville State Teachers College.*

of questionnaires sent to 79 medical colleges on the matter of admittance of Negro students. Seventy-six schools responded and information was available from other sources on four additional schools.

Of the 697 Negro undergraduate students enrolled in medical schools, 535 were enrolled at Howard and Meharry and 162 at other schools. This figure of 162 is an increase of 106 over the figure for 1949. In addition to Meharry, there are a surprising number of schools in the South admitting Negro medical students—among these are the University of Arkansas, Medical College

of Virginia, University of Louisville, University of Oklahoma, University of Texas, Washington University of St. Louis, University of Missouri, and the University of North Carolina.

■

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, president of ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE, was among the five Montgomery, Alabama, men and two women honored at a mass Bible rally at the city auditorium on September 30. As one of the seven outstanding citizens, President Trenholm was presented a first copy of the new authorized version of the Holy Bible in recognition of meritorious services to the community in civic and educational circles. The Bible rally was sponsored by the Montgomery Ministerial Association.

■

The second symposium on space travel was held at the HAYDEN PLANETARIUM of The American Museum of Natural History, New York City, on October 13, with outstanding authorities in the fields of aerodynamics, astronomy, aviation, electronics, engineering, and medicine discussing the problems that must be solved before space travel can become a reality.

DID YOU KNOW –

That the great Russian author Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837) told the story of his African grandfather Ibrahim Hannibal in the historial novel *The Negro of Peter the Great?*

Pushkin never forgot his ancestry. In a letter to Prince Viasemski on Greek independence, written in 1824, he explained: "It is permissible to judge the Greek question like that of my Negro brethren, desiring for both deliverance from an intolerable slavery." Pushkin never finished his novel: he broke off at the seventh chapter.

★ ★ ★

That Scott Joplin is ragtime's greatest composer? His masterpiece is *Maple Leaf Rag* (1899).

Ragtime was the forerunner of Jazz and is distinguished from other music by its syncopation.

★ ★ ★

That the Articles of Association drawn up by the first Continental Congress, October 20, 1774, agreed that the United Colonies would "neither import nor purchase any slaves"?

★ ★ ★

That the Spanish poet Federico, Garcia Lorca (1899-1936) believed the American Negro has a special significance in America?

He believed the Negro was "martyred" for his ceremonial purity and "primal innocence."

THERE IS NOTHING *that matches the zest and enthusiasm of youth. Central State College "freshies" radiate this universal appeal of youthful excitement for every new experience in their college career. Shown in the picture, from left, first row: Frances Partillo, Vienna, Virginia; Gladys Gantt, Dayton, Ohio; Lilyan Brown, St. Louis, Missouri; Melinda Revelly, Danville, Kentucky; second row: Anita Glover, Mt. Vernon, Ohio; Kenneth Anderson, Ironton, Ohio; Sonny Thomas, Piqua, Ohio; third row: Robert Brown, East Orange, New Jersey; Bette Butts, Cleveland, Ohio; and Alfred Johnson, Indianapolis, Indiana.*

Book Reviews

ETHIOPIA

Contemporary Ethiopia. **By David A. Talbot. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. X+267pp. $4.50.**

This book by a former member of the American Negro press resident in Ethiopia for the past seven years is the most up-to-date and informative work on that land I know of. Almost all of the many questions now being asked about the country are answered here: its history from the earliest times to the present, its geographical features, racial composition, commerce and industry, finance and banking system, mineral and agricultural wealth, marriage customs, food, and social life. Most important of all, the progress that has been made since the ousting of Italy eleven years ago.

This progress the author depicts as remarkable, thanks to Haile Selassie, architect of the new Ethiopia in every sense of the term. Wise, untiring in his efforts to advance his people, and with an uncanny vision due to his profound sense of what is right, just and humane, he is one of the greatest of living statesmen and certainly the ablest of living crowned heads. Because he knows that retribution follows wrongdoing, he was able to predict World War II. It will be recalled that he told the League of Nations at Geneva in 1936 of the doom that awaited Europe should it bow to Mussolini's invasion of his land. And his humanity was shown in his Mercy Proclamation, when he returned to power, on behalf of those who had treated his people so barbarously. Urging his people not to exact private vengeance against those of the foe still in Ethiopia he said, "When I ask you to observe these things it is because my heart tells me that the Ethiopian people are fair in their recognition of the rules governing civilized society." Today 4,000 Italians live in peace there.

As regards the racial composition of the people, Mr. Talbot says, "A gathering of Ethiopian women would not be a bit different to that of one of the sections of America predominantly Afro-American." I must qualify that a little. Every Ethiopian gathering I saw on my visits there in 1930, and 1935-36, was more Negroid in color and hair than any Negro gathering generally seen in America. I recall going in 1936 into a room where Red Cross bandages were being made by Ethiopian young women, most of them of the upper-class, and how much I was struck by the very dark skin and the Negroid hair of every one of them. A light-colored Ethiopian was almost a rarity. The Emperor himself is a dark mulatto, and the Empress almost black.

Very interesting, too, is what the

author says of the women. They have equal rights but are segregated (at least as I saw them in 1936). They have, as he says, not kept pace with the young men of modern training and these latter are finding it difficult to find suitable mates reared in the new culture. Parents still arrange marriages but child marriages have been forbidden by the Emperor. The minimum age is now fourteen. Unmarried women are looked down on.

I do not follow Mr. Talbot in all his history. He says, for instance, "The whole of North-east Africa, many thousands of years ago, was settled by immigrants of the Hamitic branch of the line of Noah." Noah is a legendary figure of Jewish folk-lore, which folklore was gathered by writers thousands of years after the supposed Deluge. Egyptian civilization was not an Asiatic product but a native African one. He is right, however, as regards origin of the word, Ethiopia. It is African, not Greek, as is generally believed.

Ethiopia is reborn. It has risen stronger and more united since the invasion. And as Mr. Talbot shows it has all the potentialities, human and otherwise, to make it a great nation.

Mr. Talbot is editor of the *Ethiopian Herald*, published in English, which is now the second language in importance there.

JOEL A. ROGERS

JOEL A. ROGERS, *the well-known writer and historian, has visited in Ethiopia and written a booklet on that country.*

***Children of Kaywana.* A novel by Edgar Mittelholzer. New York: The John Day Company, 1952. 511pp. $4.00.**

Mr. Mittelhölzer's novel, *Shadows Move Among Them*, captivated readers with its charm and subtlety. His third book, *Children of Kaywana*, is like the second, a story about British Guiana, but there the similarity ends. His Guiana this time is the Guiana of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries depicted with artful indignation and illuminating insight. Specifically the story is about the half-breed Kaywana and her granddaughter Hendrickje. Both women have an almost pathological power drive and in consequence the story is largely an accumulation of hatreds, cruelties, and often nightmarish tortures inflicted and suffered. Violence and blood stalk the reader with scenes of rape, incest, castration and flagellation.

Though based on historic fact, the cumulative horrors of the book either shock or bore and hence enfeeble the author's attack on the insensate barbarism of slavery. But Mr. Mittelhölzer does have a sense of character and is craftsman enough to make the outrageous behavior of his main characters seem plausible.

***The Growth and Development of the Negro in Dentistry in the United States.* By Clifton Orrin Dummett. Published by the National Dental Association and printed by the Stanek Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1952. 124pp. $5.00.**

Can a book about dentistry be interesting? It certainly can. This one is, for it presents an over-all factual account of the achievements, the problems and the trends in dental medicine as they relate to Negroes.

Not only is it interesting, it is informative. One learns something about apprenticeship in dentistry before dental schools came into existence, and the struggles faced by Negro dental pioneers. Impressive is the fact that in 1867 Harvard University graduated the first Negro in the United States to receive formal training and a degree in dentistry; that he was a member of the university's first class of six.

The book is important to the vari-

ous branches of the medical profession, for it points up the need for closer coordinated relationships and effort in educating for better health and in securing for Negro medical men full recognition in the medical professions. While it recognizes gains already made and is not unmindful of favorable trends, the point is well taken that full integration is a long way off and it must be made one of the chief goals of these professions.

It is a contribution to literature on the race problem, showing that the denial of equal opportunity to Negroes has limited the number of young people educationally and economically able to pursue dentistry. The relationship of Negro dentists to their white patients and to their white colleagues "within the context of the southern racial system" is a subject which is talked about but which does not appear very often in print.

Of the six chapters, Chapter IV indicates the most pressing dental health need. There are in the United States approximately 1,680 Negro dentists to an estimated Negro population of 14,890,000 and these are unevenly distributed, so that most of the Negro people are entirely without dental services. This is true even if one takes into consideration the access that some of them have to white dentists.

In most books there are some flaws. This one is no exception. There is much repetition. Much of the statistical information in Chapter VI concerning physicians and nurses and their organizations, though important, could well have been integrated into Chapter IV, thus eliminating the suggestion of irrelevancy. An index too would certainly have enhanced reference value.

JESSIE P. GUZMAN

MRS. JESSIE GUZMAN *is director of the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.*

The Life and Death of Stalin. **By Louis Fischer. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. VIII+272pp. $3.50.**

Though this is a highly readable and informative book, Mr. Fischer turns up little new information about the life and character of Joseph Vissarionovich Djugashvili, alias *David,* alias *Koba,* alias *Soso,* alias *Stalin,* to use a few of his aliases and pseudonyms. Suppression and destruction of all documents pertaining to Stalin's early life and the death or disappearance of people who knew him as Bolshevik party organizer create large gaps in the information available to his biographers. So little is known about his private life that "In a country where lust links the Army with the ballet and the NKVD with beautiful women, no tongue of gossip has touched Stalin for more than twenty years," says Mr. Fischer.

The picture which emerges from these pages is that of an adroit, cunning, ruthless man who is altogether indifferent to human life. He has disposed of all potential rivals, restored to Russia the old frontiers established by the Czars, and attached a host of satellite countries. In the last chapter on the death of Stalin, Mr. Fischer speculates on the dictator's successor. For even Uncle Joe is mortal!

The Choice Before South Africa. **By E. S. Sachs. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Preface by Tom Driberg, M. P. IX+220pp. $5.75.**

This is a thoughtful book about the intensified racial madness that has seized South Africa, especially its Afrikaner element under the lash of Dr. Malan's Nationalist party. Mr. Solly Sachs the well-known South African labor leader, shows that the Nationalist policy of *apartheid* and racial persecution cannot succeed. Chief reason for his optimism he finds in the economic life of the country and the increasing influence of the trade union and labor movement.

He argues that the productive forces of the Union cannot be developed to the maximum without the application of modern science and techniques, and that their introduction inevitably means integration of the non-European population, since cheap semi-slave labor is incompatible with modern industrial methods. South Africans, therefore, should concentrate their national effort on work instead of race hate.

And the new leadership that is developing in the trade union movement realizes that white labor must help uplift the non-Europeans if it is to raise its own standards of living. "South Africa will either carry through a democratic revolution, or within a generation it will become a nation of poor whites and starving blacks."

He has a bitter chapter on Christian trusteeship as applied in South West Africa, another on the malodorous role of the churches, and a vivisection of the fusty South African liberal.

***In Battle For Peace:* The Story of My 83rd Birthday. By W. E. B. Du Bois. With Comments by Shirley Graham. New York. Masses & Mainstream, 1952. 192pp. $1.00.**

This is an interesting brochure and Dr. Du Bois, as usual, is unerringly persuasive, provided you let him rush you along and never stop to see what premises you let him smother you with and shut your eyes to the half-truths and *non sequiturs* with which his book is studded. Actually the most astonishing thing about *In Battle For Peace* is that the author believes, or at least he professes to believe, that the Moscow sponsored Stockholm "peace" pledge was genuine and not just another "gimmick" in the cold war. ". . . Our acquital therefore," he explains, "is a great victory, because it cleared us of any connection with Communism in our work for Peace."

He exhibits a constant solicitude for Russia and the "pledge," but he will not accept anything as proof of Russian and Communist perfidiousness. Furthermore, he is so intense in his apologia that he never thinks of answering, much less posing, the question which is uppermost in the minds of his readers. How did this great warrior for human freedom ever get himself tied up with the American Communists and the "peace" pledge in the first place? *In Battle For Peace* brings its author the nearest to babblement he has ever ventured.

***Racial Separation In South Africa:* An Analysis of Apartheid Theory. By Eugene P. Dvorin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952. XII + 256pp. $4.50.**

Americans read in the daily press of the bloody riots in South Africa, of Native "passive resistance," have heard, however vaguely, about *apartheid* and UN's vote to look into the race-segregation policies of the Malanites, yet few of even the best informed have any clear conception of the background of these happenings. Now comes Dr. Dvorin to fill in the lacunae.

South Africa is a country of contradictions. There are Afrikaners, two-thirds of the white population, and British South Africans; one million Colored, who are of mixed racial stock; three hundred thousand Asiatics, mostly East Indians; and more than nine million Natives, mostly Bantu. The Afrikaner is antagonistic to his English-speaking neighbor; the Colored abominate the Natives, who in turn detest the Colored for being of mixed blood; Indians are estranged from both Natives and Colored and are on bad terms with the whites; even the Colored are divided, since some non-Cape Colored support apartheid. Jews and foreigners are disliked, and all non-Europeans feared. The old bogy

of "racial defilement" flourishes and majority grievances are many.

There are other divisions. There are two official languages, Afrikaans and English; two capitals, Pretoria and Cape Town; two national anthems, "God Save the King" and "Die Stem"; and two flags, the Union Jack and the Union Flag.

In his historical chapters the author explains how this country of antagonisms came into being. But today the issue is how the outnumbered Europeans (there are four non-Europeans for every European) can maintain white dominance. The Nationalist party solution is apartheid, which is a "carry-all term to describe Nationalist non-European policy." So far apartheid is largely theoretical, since it is the ideology for a future idealized state. Race is to be the criterion for determining the individual's role in this future society. Yet only the whites are to have a voice in the development and application of these principles.

Though this lunacy repudiates the doctrine of "universal man," it differs in many respects from the *Herrenvolk* theory of the Nazis. Apartheid does not, like National Socialism, envisage totalitarian control, but is a democratic-aristocratic concept based upon the belief that the *Afrikanervolk* are destined by their superiority to dominate all other races. There is to be individual freedom, but it is for whites only. It aims to combine "both the vertical segregation of the races and the horizontal separation of the races." This complete separation assumes that the Native can achieve his fullest self-realization only within his own group.

The Nationalists contend that any other policy would eventually end white dominance in the Union and in the long run undermine the white strain. And christian theology as expounded by the Dutch Reformed church lends it moral justification.

Some of the things the Nationalists have done in attempt at implementation of this metaphysic are passage of the Group Areas Act to create closed ghettos for non-Europeans, passage of the Mixed Marriages and the Immorality Amendments Acts outlawing intermarriage, introduction of apartheid at stations, post offices and other public places, abolition of the Cape Colored franchise, and exclusion of low-paid Native workers from the state unemployment scheme.

Since all European South Africans believe in "the professed ideal of a South Africa forever white," Dr. Dvorin concludes that "Whether the Nationalists win or lose the next election, the philosophy of social relationships underlying the doctrine will live on." What The Union faces in the future is greater tragedy and pain.

Despite its rather heavy academic style *Racial Separation in South Africa* is a good introduction to that unhappy land.

GEORGIA D. JOHNSON

(*Continued from page* 636)

As they lift their twilight faces
Through a mist of falling tears!

And because she heard we were helped to hear as we walked "the blind way of our prison world." She has given us something of her own poetry and courage—a great achievement which the passing years and the "new poetry" must not be allowed to obscure.

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